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THE
HISTORY
OF
FRANCE,

CIVIL AND MILITARY, || LITERARY,
ECCLESIASTICAL, || COMMERCIAL,
POLITICAL, || &c. &c.

FROM THE TIME OF
ITS CONQUEST BY CLOVIS, A. D. 486.

BY
The Rev. ALEXANDER RANKEN,
ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF GLASGOW.

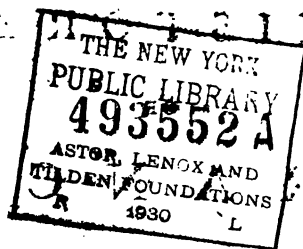
VOLUME THE SECOND;
From the Death of CHARLEMAGNE, A. D. 814, to
the Accession of HUGH CAPET, A. D. 987.

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HISTORY
OF
FRANCE.

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SECT. I.

Under LEWIS I. the Mild, from A. D. 814, to A. D. 840.

CHARLEMAGNE had subdued, and added A. D. 814
to the dominions of France which he received from his father, Aquitain and Gascony, State of the empire.
the northern provinces of Spain, to the river Ebro, all Italy excepting Calabria, and the remainder of Germany to the Danube and the Vistula. Scotland, just emerging from the fabulous

A. D. 814. lous period of its history, was allied to him. Egbert, trained in the court of Charlemagne, had not yet succeeded in destroying the Hephtharchy, and in uniting all England in one powerful monarchy. Aaron, king of Persia, and of all the eastern nations on this side India, courted the friendship of the French emperor, sent him curious and costly presents, and conferred on him such places in the Holy Land as his subjects were accustomed and desirous to visit. And notwithstanding the jealousy of his power in Italy and on the Danube, and a disposition to resent his assumption of the Imperial title, the court of Constantinople shewed him the most respectful attention, and maintained with him a frequent and flattering intercourse.

This vast empire, composed of such different and discordant tribes and nations, cohered with difficulty, under the unceasing vigilance, the indefatigable exertions, and awful authority of this great man; and such was the habit of submission which he had impressed on it, that even his death occasioned no disruption nor commotion. Lewis, his only surviving son, was cordially welcomed by the states to the government of his dominions. The respect and veneration to which his father was accustomed, from his subjects, his ministers, and allies, seemed for a while transferred to him; but it was not long before a difference of genius and temper was perceived. Relaxation of authority, and weakness of government, appeared first in the discontents

Eginhart in Vit. Caroli Magni.

of

CH. I. § 1. CIVIL AND MILITARY.

of his own family, spread in the insurrections of his subjects over the empire, reached the most distant foreign allies, encouraged the invasion of the Saracens and Normans, and produced a division and decline of empire, which we are now to trace, through a long series of years, to the extinction of the Carlovingian race. A. D. 814.

Lewis, from his early and uniform habits denominated the *Pious*, and from his natural temper justly denominated the *Mild*, was about thirty-six years of age at the period of his accession. He was of a middle stature, had large bright eyes, a fair countenance, limbs rather long and slender, broad shoulders, and a manly voice. The Latin tongue was familiar to him, and he understood the Greek: but he became averse from the classics in both these languages, and from all heathen authors, as inconsistent with his profession, and love of Christianity. His temper was peculiarly soft, and liable to the influence and artifices of designing men. Almost incapable of anger, he was prone to pity. Hardly any injury, however aggravated, was denied his forgiveness. His piety, though disguised by extreme fanaticism, was sincere. Every day, on entering the church to public prayers, he bowed his head to the very pavement. His devotions were protracted to a great length, during which he was often bathed in tears. His morals were consistently pure and correct. Temperate in all his appetites and moderate in all his passions, he was profuse in his charities, and anxious that justice should be duly administered in every department of the empire. Character of Lewis.

A. D. 814. empire. He was neither careless, nor much concerned about his dress: in this respect he accommodated, on public occasions, to the custom of his fathers. His voice was never heard in laughter; nor even when buffoons and mimics convulsed the people in his presence with their theatrical entertainments, was he ever observed to smile².

He religiously observed, and carefully executed, his father's last will; distributing to his sisters, to domestic servants, and to others, as prescribed, their several portions. He received with due attention, and with becoming state, the foreign ambassadors who came to congratulate him on his accession. He presided in the general assembly of the states and clergy, which was soon after convened for the various purposes of civil and ecclesiastical government. He enjoined the counts of the provinces, and other subordinate officers, to repair personally to their respective stations; to superintend strictly the order and government of the people under their charge; and, by the due administration of both justice and mercy, to conciliate and secure the allegiance and favour of all ranks of men. By these and similar acts he showed that he wanted not a good disposition to will, but that more was necessary to promote and secure the good order and prosperity of the empire³.

² Thegan's *Opus de Gestis Ludov. Pii*, 19.

³ Eginhart in *Vit. Car. Magni*. Thegan. 8. *Acta Concil. Harduini*, vol. iv. edit. 1714.

On the Saxons and Frisians, whom his father had subdued, and whose insurrections he had punished with so much rigour, a trial of mild administration, though generally disapproved by his ministers, succeeded to his wish, and highly gratified him. He was the more gratified that he now entertained the prospect of rendering these people, formerly so averse from Christianity, the instruments of propagating it in the most northern regions of Europe.

A.D. 814.
His mild
administra-
tion.

In a contest betwixt the family of Godefrid and Heriold for the crown of Denmark, the latter being defeated, and expelled from the kingdom, represented his condition with so much address to the emperor, submitting himself as a vassal of the empire, and promising to introduce the gospel into his native country, that he prevailed with him to espouse his cause with zeal, and to engage in a war for the recovery to him of that kingdom.

State of
Denmark.

The Saxons and Frisians were the tribes nearest to that country, and the most convenient in several respects for being employed in that enterprise. It was of importance early to oppose them to the sons of Godefrid, lest that political and powerful family should find means to seduce them from their allegiance, and to turn their arms, not merely against Heriold, but against the empire; and on the other hand, if they could be persuaded heartily to support Heriold, and to restore him to the throne of Denmark, they were likely to become not only more attached to the power in whose service

Saxons, &c.

A. D. 814.

they had prospered, but would be the means of removing from themselves a dangerous enemy, and a strong temptation to rebellion. The privileges of which Charlemagne had bereaved them, as a punishment for their frequent insurrections, and particularly the right of succession to the property and honours of their fathers—a right so interesting and desirable to human nature—Lewis restored to them, on condition that they took up arms, and marched with Heriold to recover his dominions. They accepted these terms with gratitude; they executed the commission with which they were entrusted with fidelity; and though they were not ultimately successful, yet they were kept occupied, and preserved, for some time, from violating, as otherwise they might have done in that quarter, the peace of the empire.

Italy.

The same mildness of temper produced different consequences in Italy. The Adrian faction, which had with violence opposed and resented the election of Leo to the papal chair, and which the authority of Charlemagne had restrained from farther outrage, now indulged freely that desire of vengeance which was merely suspended, and conspired against the life of the pope. Leo, who foresaw his danger, neither trusted to the promptitude of the emperor's exertions to defend them, nor feared his displeasure on account of the measures which he resolved to employ in his own defence. He apprehended the conspirators, and put them all to death: regarding, on this occasion, the Roman law, which authorised this severity, more than imperial

imperial decrees and distant authority. Lewis ^{A. D. 814;} was sensible of this violation of duty to him, and commissioned his nephew Bernard, king of Italy, to march to Rome, and on the spot to examine parties, and report to him. But the policy of the old pope easily gained the young prince. His report of the case was favourable; and, as Leo hoped, the emperor was pacified *.

It had been customary for the pope-elect to signify his election to the emperor, and to wait his approbation before he formally seated himself in the papal chair. This now began to be deemed unworthy of the pope; and the present state of the empire was thought favourable for attempting an innovation. On the death of Leo, which happened a few months after Bernard's return from executing his commission of enquiry, Stephen IV. was elected in his room; and confident of the goodness of Lewis, ventured to take full and absolute possession of his office without the usual acknowledgment of the emperor. He sent a legate, indeed, afterwards, to apologise for his conduct, as requisite in the present circumstances; and to prevent farther enquiry, to remove prejudice, and to establish the precedent, by using the most likely means to make it be overlooked, he flattered Lewis by proposing a visit to him, to anoint and to consecrate him emperor.

* Vit. & Act. Lud. Pii, A. D. 815.

A. D. 816.

The pope
at Rheims,

The apology was received, and the visit was most cordially accepted. Orders were given for welcoming his holiness with every demonstration of joy. Bernard, with a suitable retinue, was appointed to attend him in his journey through Italy; some ecclesiastics of the highest order were sent to meet him on the confines of France; and Lewis himself waited for him on the great plain of Rheims. Both alighted from horseback, and the emperor of France bowed to the ground three times solemnly before the Roman priest. On rising the third time, he saluted him, saying, "Blessed be my lord, who cometh in the name of the Lord!"

consecrates
Lewis em-
peror.

Thence he conducted the reverend stranger, leading him by the hand, into the church. Religious service was performed; and the pope pronounced an adulatory oration on the emperor. The two following days were spent in festivity, and in giving and receiving rich and magnificent presents; and next day being the sabbath, during the celebration of mass, Lewis was solemnly anointed, and crowned emperor; his consort Hermengarde being at the same time consecrated and crowned. All which being done, the historian significantly adds, the holy apostle, having obtained all that he wanted, returned to Rome.

Stephen died a few months after his return. Paschal, who was chosen his successor, in like

5 Thegani Opus, c. 16, 17. Vit. & Act. Lud. Pii, 816.

manner

manner neglected the emperor, and only sent a special ambassador afterwards, to notify to him both his election and instalment. Lewis was highly incensed, and threatened Rome with an army: but his heart misgave him, when he associated that city with religion; and on receiving some apology, he was again pacified⁶.

A. D. 816.
Continued neglect of the emperor.

Such indulgence could not fail to encourage insolence; and now Rome herself began to shew an impatience under the yoke of France. It had been customary to send French commissioners to enquire into the conduct of the Roman government, to secure the administration of justice, and to see that no measures were taken in any respect prejudicial to the imperial interest and authority. These officers, on account of their fidelity, were now exposed to personal danger. The Romans tore out the eyes of two of them, and afterwards beheaded them. On special examination, by appointment of the emperor, the Roman people accused the pope as the author of that cruelty. The pope vindicated his innocence by the oaths of thirty-four bishops and presbyters and of five deacons, and Lewis was satisfied⁷.

While the late emperor had more than one son, he never publicly declared which of them was to succeed to the imperial crown; nor did he propose to associate Lewis with himself in the

He associates Lothaire with him.

⁶ Vit. & Aet. Lud. Pii, 817. Pasq. Recherches, l. iii. c. 4. l. v. c. 5.

⁷ Thegan's Opus, c. 30.

throne,

A. D. 816. throne, till after the death of his other sons, and till the infirmities of age had warned him of his approaching dissolution. But the present emperor, while he had three sons alive, besides his nephew Bernard king of Italy and representative of Pepin, Charlemagne's eldest son, assumed Lothaire; the oldest of his family, as his associate in the government of the empire; made Pepin, his second son, king of Aquitain; and Lewis, his third son, king of Bavaria. All the three were solemnly crowned. Lothaire was afterwards consecrated by the pope at Rome: but the two younger brothers were made dependent on him. They were required to wait on him once a year, as a token of their subordination, and in order at the same time to treat of their common interest in the empire. They were not to engage in war, receive foreign ambassadors, nor even to marry, without his consent and advice. If any of them died, his kingdom was not to be broken, and divided among his surviving sons; but, according to the destination of the deceased father, and with the consent and approbation of the people, was to be conveyed entire to one of them. This was nearly the present state of Bernard: he was nominal king of Italy, and subordinate to the emperor.

Bernard of
Italy,

They do not appear to have seriously objected to their subordination: but Bernard, as the lineal descendant of an elder branch of Charlemagne's family, as resident king in Italy, the ancient seat of empire, and above all entertaining no longer any high veneration for the wisdom

wisdom and authority of the emperor, yielded to the persuasion and influence of those malecontents, who were become numerous in Italy. He would not arraign the deed of the late emperor, by which his uncle Lewis was preferred to his father Pepin and to himself; but he claimed the succession next after his uncle's decease, protested against the association of Lothaire, and refused to do homage any longer for his kingdom. The state of his temper was observed; every murmur that escaped from him was caught and communicated; and no suitable means were left unemployed to inflame his mind. He was himself sanguine. He listened with too much eagerness to those around him, and believed that his adherents were more numerous than they proved to be, both in France and Italy.

A. D. 816.

Bernard was but nineteen years of age, handsome, brave, and beloved by his subjects. His own ambition and inexperience, and their zeal to serve him, precipitated him into immature projects, and finally into open acts of rebellion. Having roused the Italians, and collected an army, he marched, and took possession of the principal passes of the Alps. Lewis wanted not keenness of temper to decide on the measures which he ought to pursue; but he wanted that energy and perseverance which were necessary to execute them. His German troops were well-disciplined. A great army, which he soon assembled from both France and Germany, was still animated with somewhat of the spirit of Charlemagne, and with a sense of duty;

and the rebels,
A. D. 817.

whereas

A. D. 817. whereas the rebels were dissident of their cause, and soon became no less dissident of their strength and success. They deserted in such numbers, that their leaders judged it most prudent and safe for him, without delay, to throw himself at the feet of the emperor. His principal adherents were apprehended; and in an assembly held for the purpose of trying them, he and they were condemned to die. Lewis, thinking it an alleviation, prevailed with the court to commute their sentence, to spare their lives, and to put out their eyes. The shame and pain, to a prince of high spirit and extreme sensibility, were intolerable. Three days after, Bernard was found dead².

are con-
demned to
die.

Bernard
dies.
A. D. 818.

Other in-
surrections.

The commencement of the war in Italy seemed to the frontier states of Germany, who had never yet firmly coalesced with the empire, the signal of a general revolt. They still panted for liberty and independence; and they hoped, while the storm of war was gathering at a distance from them, to withdraw from a relaxed government unobserved, and with impunity. The successful and sudden termination of that war disappointed their hope, and exposed them to the indignation of troops confirmed in their sense of duty by their recent victory.

Livduit's
rebellion.

Livduit, however, the duke of Lower Pannonia, was too distant, powerful, and obstinate to be so easily subdued. Even though he should

² "Mortis acerbitatem sibi consciverunt." Vit. Lud. Fil., 818.

fail in asserting the liberty of his country, he A.D. 388. thought it honourable to attempt it; and not merely that of Pannonia, but of the neighbouring states, whom he endeavoured to inspire with the same ambition of independence. His mind was active, his plans were judicious; and he executed them with promptitude and courage. He knew that, over all the neighbouring regions, the spirit of liberty (suppressed during the preceding reign, but not altogether extinguished) was easily kindled and again inflamed to war.

The genius and influence of this leader were not unknown to government. They were early apprised of his design. They opposed to him an Italian army, under the duke of Privoli, without success: the country was ravaged; but the enemy was not intimidated. Negotiations were next tried. Elated with this prosperity, Livduit presumed to prescribe to the emperor the terms of peace. Being rejected, he defeated Borna, who was sent against him with a numerous army, on the Calpe, which flows into the Save. Thrice he routed the imperial armies. He sustained a war against the whole force of the empire for five years, but was at last forced to flee, almost deserted by his conquered and dismayed troops. His offer of submission, and finally his death, put an end to the war*.

These more distant rebellions and wars, how- Domestic discords. ever protracted and bloody, were scarcely to be

* Aequal. Egmhart. Vit. & Act. Ludov. Pii.

dreaded;

A. D. 819. dreaded, in comparison with the domestic discords and hostilities which some time after severely tried, and piteously exposed, the mind of the emperor, and the weakness of the government.

**Judith em-
press.**

On the death of Hermengarde, A. D. 819, Lewis married Judith, daughter of Guelph duke of Bavaria, a woman of spirit and capacity, but extremely selfish, and regardless of the public welfare and peace. She soon observed the weakness of her husband, and obtained, in politics, the entire direction of his mind. She knew that the empire was already destined to Lothaire; yet she no sooner bare a son, who was named Charles, than she became solicitous to secure to him also a share of the empire.

**June,
A. D. 823.**

The limits of the kingdoms of Bavaria and Aquitain, some time before conferred on Lewis and Pepin, having been distinctly marked, and absolutely disposed of, could not now with safety be altered; nor were they extensive enough to bear any diminution. Besides, it was not mere territory which she wanted for her son: she aimed to obtain for him the imperial title, and a share of imperial authority. The more she appeared ambitious and urgent, the more jealous the young princes became of her influence with their father, and of her designs on the empire.

**Gains Lo-
thaire;**

For some time the emperor mediated between them: but she grew impatient, and trusted that she should prevail by her power of persuasion and

and her skill in artifice. She requested Lothaire, A. D. 829.
the associated emperor, to take her son under
his patronage. She assured him that it was the
height of her ambition to unite her own for-
tune and that of her son with his; that thus
united, and supported as they would be by her
friends both in France and Germany, no party
in the empire, nor power on earth, should be
able to distress them; not even though the two
kings of Aquitain and Bavaria should combine
their forces against him, as he had reason one
day to expect, should he in this case have
reason to fear; and finally, that it was *his* duty,
who had held Charles over the baptismal font,
now to protect him; and, as a father, to pro-
vide for him.

By these, or it might be by more selfish and
substantial considerations, Lothaire was gained.
He agreed to the dismemberment of the empire
in favour of her son: he consented to be his
tutor, and as such bound himself, in concert
with the emperor his father, "to support and
" defend him against all enemies and injury,
" and to maintain to him inviolate whatever
" portion of the empire should be allotted
" him."

He had no sooner taken this oath, and begun
to deliberate, than he repented; for he now ob-
served that the terms were too general, and left
it entirely to his father to break and subdivide,
as he chose, his portion of the empire. He re-
who re-
pents.

¹⁰ Nithardi Hist. lib. i. A. D. 829.

lected

A.D. 1829. He fled on the arts by which he had been persuaded so to abandon his own interest, and he tried in vain to dissemble his chagrin. The malecontents and restless spirits, of whom there is always a sufficient number about such a court, gladly saw and inflamed his resentment. His personal and family friends sympathised in his embarrassment, and secretly conspired with him to devise means of relief from the injurious obligation—injurious not merely to him, but to the empire, and to all who favoured its prosperity. They carefully impressed on his mind the weakness and dangerous fickleness of the present administration, and the indignity as well as injustice which he should suffer, were the public settlement solemnly made in his favour in the year eight hundred and seventeen now to be violated.

Weakness
of the em-
peror.

At the same time, no means were neglected which appeared calculated to disturb and dismay the emperor. The disorders of church and state were described to him with every circumstance of aggravation. The ordinary, but remarkable phenomena of nature, as storms, thunder, aurora borealis, and eclipses, were represented as awful prodigies, and certain indications of Divine judgment. The emperor, clergy, rulers, and judges, were all declared equally disorderly and criminal; but the emperor, as the representative and head of all the rest, was peculiarly culpable and guilty. These things, it was foreseen, addressed to a well-meaning but weak prince, to a tender but superstitious conscience, were likely to make the impression, and to produce

duce the effects which were intended. He humbled himself publicly in the assembly of Attigny, acknowledged his guilt, and submitted to censure. He summoned at Mentz, Paris, Lyons, and Thoulouse, four different councils, not merely for the regulation of the church and state, but to advise him with respect to the reformation which ought to be made in his own person and family ¹¹.

A. D. 829.

This conduct, which above all things exposed his weakness and diminished his authority, was the very thing which his enemies desired. They now hoped to deprive him altogether of the imperial power, and, in the mean time, to banish from his councils and person the empress herself, and such ministers as were attached to her interests and those of her son.

The empress had succeeded in persuading the emperor to form a new division of that part of his dominions which was assigned to Lothaire; and now, in an assembly at Worms, and in the presence of that prince and his brother Lewis, he allotted to Charles Allemania, Rhetia, and a part of Burgundy. This act, though done with the apparent consent of the two princes who were present, yet was witnessed by them, and the account of it was received by their absent brother Pepin with indignation. Considering themselves alike exposed to the effects of the queen's insatiable ambition, and liable, one after another, to be denuded of all their territories

New partition in behalf of Charles.

¹¹ Vita Valæ Abbatis. Acta Conciliorum.

A. D. 829. and honours, they resolved to unite in one scheme of attack against the opposite party, and to dispossess the emperor himself of that government which he was so incapable of administering¹².

Civil war. The emperor, and especially the empress, saw the gathering storm, and sought such shelter as seemed necessary for their security. But they were not more fortunate in the choice of their measures, than they had been in the circumstances which led to them. Bernard duke of Languedoc was made chamberlain, and confidential minister. He was a man of superior address, courage, experience in military operations, and skill in civil administration. The nature of his office, however, as chamberlain, and the share which the queen now assumed in the management of the state, required him to be often with her in private, and laid a foundation for the report, which their enemies industriously spread, of their criminal commerce.

A. D. 830. The nobles, the people, and the clergy were variously affected with these reports; the empire was agitated by the opposite factions, and a civil war seemed unavoidable. An insurrection in Brittany was the occasion, or was made the pretence, on the part of the emperor, of assembling an army. It was the opinion of Bernard that he should himself march at the head of that army, and order his son Pepin to join him instantly with all the troops which he could col-

¹² Thegani Opus, c. 35.

left from Aquitain. Lewis of Bavaria attended his father a part of the way in this expedition, but made his escape, and joined the malecontents. Lothaire, who had been sent from the court designedly into Italy, now returned. Pepin obeyed the summons of his father, and raised an army, not with a view to join, but to oppose him. The emperor's army in great numbers deserted him. His sons, he understood, were united against him; and Pepin was at the head of an army, in the heart of France, ready to engage him. The cause of all this opposition, he now learned, was a violent hatred of the empress, and of Bernard her minister. He was not disposed to believe them culpable, and deserving of all this aversion; but he pitied them, and resolved, if possible, to save them. He advised Bernard to escape, without delay, to Barcelona, of which he was governor; he sent the empress to the monastery of St. Mary in Laön; and he encamped with his army near Compiegne.

A. D. 830.

Pepin, whose army was at Verberie, three leagues only distant from the emperor, sent a detachment to Laön, and brought Judith to his camp. There to her face he reproached her with all the vices which report had ascribed to her, and particularly charged her with the disorders of the court, and with an undue and pernicious influence over his father, by which the empire was rent asunder, and ready to dissolve. He offered, however, to spare her life, on condition that she would persuade the emperor now to retire with her to a monastery, and never

Judith apprehended;

A. D. 830. more, either of them, to intermeddle with the government¹³.

With these terms, to which she gave her own consent, she was sent to the camp of the emperor. She stated to him the occasion of her visiting him, and her solemn engagement to return to Pepin's camp with whatever answer he should authorise her to carry. To any other person, and in other times, the message, with all its circumstances, would have appeared not more insolent than unnatural, and would have excited emotions the most tumultuous and violent : but Lewis the mild appears to have received it with calmness, and to have deliberated with patience and composure on the alternative proposed to him by his son, of reigning, or of retiring to a monastery. He sent back his wife, according to her engagement, to the camp of her enemy, with this answer : That he thought himself competent to grant her permission to retire to a monastery, and to this he consented ; but that he did not think himself at his own disposal, and would advise on that subject with the states of the empire. With this answer she returned, and was dismissed to take the veil in the monastery of St. Radegonde.

takes the
veil.

Humilia-
tion of the
emperor.

An assembly was convoked at Compiègne ; and the subject was submitted to them by the emperor, whether he ought to retire from the government, or not ? His manner of proposing this question was a depth of humiliation un-

¹³ Annal. Bertin. Vit. Lud. Pii.

worthy of his character as an emperor. He declined to sit on the throne: he stood near it, in a suppliant posture: he confessed his personal faults, and the defects of his government; and he expressed his resolution and hope, that if he were permitted to retain the crown, he would govern the empire agreeably to the best wishes and wholesome counsels of his good and faithful subjects¹⁴. A. D. 830.

The assembly were deeply affected with the occasion, and with his words and appearance. They rose almost with one consent, constrained him to seat himself on the throne, and generally shewed him a respect by no means expected by his sons and their adherents. But they were afterwards sufficiently gratified.

Lothaire and the troops with him having joined Pepin and his army, the news of his arrival no sooner reached the opposite camp than it was almost totally deserted. The emperor, finding himself solitary and exposed, followed the multitude, and delivered himself and Charles up to his sons. Lothaire treated him with respect, and never mentioned to him farther the subject of deposition; but he kept him all summer with him, in the state of a prisoner. He put out the eyes of Heribert brother of Bernard, the late favourite; and he sent Odo, the cousin of the same minister, into banishment.

¹⁴ Vita Valz. Thegani Opus, 36—39. Vid. Lud. Pii, 830. Annal. Bertin.

A. D. 830.

Meantime the passions of men began to subside, and reflection to return. The two younger princes themselves listened to the suggestions which were offered to them, that they were dethroning an affectionate and well-disposed parent, to place in his room a brother, who might flatter them for a little time, till he had secured his authority and government, and then indulge the same ambition in degrading them as in degrading their father. In a word, they returned to their father, and were reconciled to him.

Lothaire is
disconcerted.

Lothaire was disconcerted, yet placed his hopes in an assembly which was proposed to be held for settling the affairs of the empire. He was solicitous that it should be convened in France, where his partisans were most numerous; but for that very reason his father appointed the diet at Nimeguen in Germany, because he relied with more confidence on the loyalty of the Germans. The two nations were mutually jealous; and for the very sake of contention readily entered the lists of the opposite factions. The Germans, on this occasion, crowded to the diet in support of the emperor. He took courage, and exercised some spirited acts of discipline: Lothaire, on the other hand, was dejected; and after various deliberation, threw himself on the mercy of his father. A few only of his adherents were disgraced and banished. No person was capitally punished. The empress was taken from her monastery, was formally judged of the crime imputed to her with Bernard, and by the law and practice of

The emperor
restored.

of those times was fully acquitted, was received back to court, and restored to all her high honours and privileges. Her friends, as well as those of the emperor, were recalled: their attachment and services were acknowledged and rewarded. Even Bernard, who had fled into Spain, returned, and was permitted to clear himself of the crimes alleged against him (*more Francis solito*) by the oaths of many jurors, and by challenging his accusers to single combat; which, however, none of them accepted.

A. D. 830.

The same power, counsellors, and circumstances produced, in the course of the following year, similar errors, and disorders more violent. The emperor, animated by a spirit not his own, instigated by the resentment and ambition of the empress, unimproved yet by her sufferings, deprived Pepin of his kingdom of Aquitain, and conferred it, in addition to his former grant, on Charles¹¹.

A. D. 833,
Aquitain
conferred
on Charles.

To prejudice, to resentment, and perhaps to policy, it appeared justifiable to disarm an odurate and active enemy, while the opportunity seemed favourable. The act, however violent, and, under a feeble government, so imprudent, was highly and naturally approved by the friends of Judith: but it was no less disapproved by the other princes and their party. Lothaire

¹¹ "Inter filios suos Lotharium atque Carolum quandam divisionem regni constituit." Vit. Lud. Pii, 832.

"Aquitania Pepino dempta Karolo datur."

Nithardi, lib. i. 833.

A. D. 833.

Lothaire
deprived of
the impe-
rial title,

and Lewis were seriously alarmed ; and the more, that the former had been deprived of the title and authority of emperor by his father. The progress might be gradual ; but the settled plan seemed to be, first to disinherit him, and then Lewis, in order to confer the whole empire on Charles. Wherefore they publicly declared him and his mother their common enemy,

They resorted to the pope for his advice and countenance. Gregory IV. then filled the papal chair. Active and ambitious, he embraced eagerly the opportunity which this application afforded him of supporting Lothaire as king of Italy, and of exercising his authority generally, as supreme arbiter over the empire.

They represented to him the deplorable state of France, the intrigues and ambition of the empress, her pragmatial influence over the mild spirit of their father, the persecution and injustice to which they were exposed, and the general disorder in which the affairs of the empire were involved : they stated, that Lothaire, whom an assembly of the people had associated with his father in the empire, and whom the pope Paschal had solemnly consecrated emperor, was degraded from that high rank and authority, and reduced to the state of nominal king of Italy : that his brother Pepin's kingdom was now absolutely taken from him, and conferred on the son of Judith. They trusted, that a conduct so injurious would justify them, the elder princes, and their adherents, in an open rebellion, to vindicate

dicate their rights, and to resist the ambition of an imperious, a selfish, and unprincipled woman. Mean time they requested the mediation of his holiness with the emperor, that by gentle means, in the first place, they might, if possible, obtain redress.

A. D. 833.

Mediation
of the pope.

It was not customary for the pope to enter France without the emperor's permission and invitation : but a personal interview on this occasion was desirable. The opportunity was extremely favourable for papal interference and aggrandisement : the claim of the princes appeared reasonable and just : Gregory presumed on the generous and mild temper of Lewis, and unsolicited ventured to accompany Lothaire to the court of his father.

The emperor, then encamped at Worms, had ordered the passes of the Alps to be seized, and strictly guarded. The presence of the pope animated Lothaire's army, while it intimidated the emperor's. These passes were easily forced ; and the entry of the pope into the French dominions spread a general consternation and anxiety. The report went, that all who opposed the interests of the injured princes were certainly to be excommunicated. The clergy in the interest of the emperor, on the other hand, threatened the pope with excommunication and deposition, for intermeddling thus with matters so foreign to him, and in a manner so officious and violent. It is the office and duty of the pope, as head of the church, Gregory replied, to maintain truth and right every where, and at all hazards : that it apper-
tained

A. D. 833. tained to him to decide in all differences referred to him, without being accountable to any one : that it was dishonourable for the emperor to have exposed himself to just occasion of censure ; and that it was highly culpable in any one to flatter him in his errors, in the violation especially of personal rights, and of the most solemn engagements and public treaties ¹⁶.

The emperor found, that no advantage was to be gained by delay : that the camp of his sons now at Rotfeldt, between Basle and Colmar, was filled with the clergy of all ranks, whose object, by all their intercourse, religious exercises, and writings, was to bring him and his friends, and their conduct, into discredit. He resolved, therefore, as soon as possible to bring on an engagement, and drew up his army accordingly in the order of battle. The princes also put their troops in battle array : but whether from benevolent or political motives, the pope now went over to wait on the emperor, and in the mean time the attack was mutually suspended. Several days were spent in negotiation, during which an intercourse took place between the camps, at that time near one another, (for that of the emperor was betwixt Colmar and Strasburg,) which proved fatal to the latter. The day after the pope left him, a desertion took place, similar but more rapid than on the former occasion at Compiègne ; and his own soldiers, in company with those of his sons, went and rudely threatened him and his

The emperor again deserted.

¹⁶ Vit. Lud. Pii, 833.

family

family in their tent. There was no alternative. He, the empress, her son, and such of their friends as remained with them, were made prisoners. An assembly was convoked: the emperor was formally declared unworthy to reign, and was deposed: the throne was proclaimed vacant: Lothaire was unanimously elected to fill it: the two younger princes, Lewis and Pepin, received some additional towns and territory: Judith was banished to Tortona in Italy: Charles was sent to the abbey of Prüm in the forest of Arden; and the pope is said to have returned to Rome, ashamed of the consequences of his interference, and conscious that he had acted as the mean tool of the princes against their father¹⁷.

A. D. 833.

and de-
throned.
Lothaire is
elected.

Lothaire, however, was not easy in an elevation to which he had ascended by such unjustifiable steps. He was sensible that the late assembly was irregular, and that his election was rather the effect of military acclamation than of a free and deliberate choice. He feared the fickleness of popular favour, and the measures which might soon be taken in behalf of his de-throned parent. He called a regular assembly, therefore, at Compiègne, in order to obtain their sanction to whatever might be judged most for his interest and security.

Considering the disposition of the emperor, and the canons of the church, it was privately

¹⁷ "Gregorius papa talia cernens, cum maximo more Romam regreditur." Vit. Lud. Pii, 833. Vit. Valz. Epist. Greg. iv.


suggested

A. D. 933. suggested that Lothaire was likely to be best secured in the government by moving the tender conscience of his father, and by subjecting him to long penitence; during which, by law, no person could exercise any office, nor perform any civil duty. This opinion having been readily adopted, Lewis the mild was accused publicly of immoralities and ecclesiastical scandal. The principal subjects of accusation were, the murder of his nephew Bernard king of Italy; the violation of the late emperor his father's will; the injustice committed against his own sons; his marching armies, and holding assemblies on holy days; condemning some of his subjects unjustly; oppressing others by military expeditions and wars unnecessarily; neglecting the discipline of the soldiers; and generally involving the state in disorder. In his absence, he was condemned, by a plurality of voices, to a penitence which was to continue for life, and during which he was held incapable of enjoying any title, or of discharging any public office, civil or military.

October.

Humiliating penance of Lewis.

He was accordingly subjected to the most humiliating penance. In the church of St. Medard at Soissons, to which he was carried in the presence of Lothaire and his ministers, and a great multitude of bishops, presbyters, deacons, and people, the crimes of which he was accused were read over to him. He was exhorted to acknowledge his sins, and to improve well this season of repentance vouchsafed to him. To all these accusations and admonitions Lewis submitted with the meekness of a child. To prove

prove his sincerity, and in token of his full submission and reconciliation to his sentence, he requested that he might be allowed to embrace his son Lothaire. This request being granted, the occasion generally, and particularly the embrace, was represented as a voluntary and final cession of the empire to Lothaire ^{A. D. 833.} 

He now prostrated himself on a hair-cloth on the ground. In that posture he confessed his guilt, according to the articles of his accusations; and he requested that he might be admitted to discipline according to the canons of the church, for the expiation of his sins. Again he assured the clergy who were present, of the sincerity of his repentance, and delivered to them the written articles of his accusation, to be laid solemnly on the altar. On being told that he must part with his sword, he ungirded himself, and threw it down at the bottom of the altar. Hebo bishop of Rheims, who presided on the occasion, put a sack or hair cloth on him, and led him to a small cell in the monastery, where he was to spend the remainder of his life in penitence.

Such was the ingratitude of the bishops and clergy, whom no prince ever more respected; and such was the insolent and shocking treatment which he received from Hebo, whom he had patronised, and raised from the

¹¹ Thegani Opus, 44. Vit. Lud. Pii. 833. Adæ Exauكتورationis Lud. Pii.

A. D. 833. lowest servile condition to the highest order of the church. "Is it thus, perfidious wretch!" (exclaims Thegan bishop of Treves, in his works on the reign of Lewis,) "Is it thus thou requitest his beneficence who raised thee from a state of slavery? He clothed thee with purple, and thou hast covered him with sackcloth; he exalted thee to the summit of ecclesiastical honour and power, and thou hast deposed him from the throne of his fathers."

From this affecting scene the people were observed to retire in sullen silence. That silence was succeeded by expressions of sympathy. Compassion spread rapidly and extensively over the kingdom. It reached and softened Lewis and Pepin. Through the tears of compassion the state of affairs appeared to them in a new light. They beheld the high and imperial rank of Lothaire with jealousy: they felt a neglect from him which they thought they had not deserved, and which, in the present circumstances, they were unwilling to endure. They were not ignorant of the distracted counsels and indecisive administration of Lothaire's government; and they gave countenance to the secret and seditious meetings which began to be held against it both in France and Germany.

As gentle measures were first advised, Lewis king of Bavaria demanded some mitigation of the rigour of his father's penitence. His demand being refused, rendered him the more urgent

urgent and determined. His sympathy and intercession for the comfort of his father procured him popularity; while Lothaire's refusal and obduracy made him daily more unpopular and odious. The latter at last allowed the ambassadors of the former to visit the royal cell, on condition that they were attended with proper officers, to prevent unnecessary conversation. The cell was opened: the ambassadors threw themselves at the feet of the venerable penitent. They were allowed only to say that they had come from his son Lewis to enquire how he did. Their looks communicated something more¹⁹. He answered them with a meekness and tenderness which melted them: "I am obliged to the king of Bavaria for enquiring after me: I shall ever dearly love my children."

A. D. 833.

From secret meetings the people assembled in arms under the princes of Aquitain and Bavaria. Their cause being good gave them a courage not enjoyed by Lothaire and his friends. His troops were few, and averse from fighting: he was unable or unwilling to hazard an engagement. He had the goodness at least not to injure his father personally: he left him at Paris, and retired with his army to Vienne in Dauphiné.

As soon as it was known that the emperor was again at liberty in Paris, all ranks of people

His restoration.
A. D. 835.

¹⁹ "Aliquo motu signorum fecerunt eum intelligere." Thegan. 47.

hastened

A.D. 835. hastened to wait on him. They congratulated him : but in vain they besought him to resume the crown and sceptre till he were formally absolved, and with the same publicity and solemnity as had attended his humiliation. His absolution and restoration were celebrated with the greatest rejoicings. They were rendered the more interesting by the apparent sympathy of the very elements of nature. The tempest of a sudden ceased ; the clouds dispersed, and serenity and sunshine heightened the general joy ²⁰.

A general amnesty was proclaimed. Aquitaine was restored to Pepin : the empress was vindicated, and brought back to court. It only remained that Lothaire should lay down his arms, in order to re-establish universal tranquillity. He was invited to submission, and offered forgiveness by his generous father. He at last accepted of it, came to court, and on his knees intreated pardon for those also who had joined him in the rebellion. " I pardon you once more," said the mild and merciful Lewis : " I restore you, my son, your kingdom of Italy, on condition that you never enter France without my permission. Swear, you and your friends, that you will henceforth be faithful and good subjects, and prove your sincerity by your future good conduct." They swore, and testified their allegiance with the most lively marks of sincerity and gratitude.

²⁰ Vit. & Aët. Lud. Pii.

The emperor's long imprisonment and anxieties had injured his health, and produced appearances of a declining constitution. The empress observing it, became the more solicitous to obtain some additional territory and power for Charles; and such protection as might secure him, on his father's death, against the jealousies and hostilities of the elder princes. Viewing this subject on every side, she saw nothing, on the whole, more safe than once more to propose to Lothaire an equal and permanent union of his interests with those of her son. On the one hand, she offered to procure for that prince his recall from banishment, and his restoration to his former privileges and honours in the empire; and on the other, she required him to take her and her family under his protection, and to guarantee to Charles the territories allotted to him. Mean time she prevailed with the emperor and his council to confer on this young prince all Neustria lying between the Seine and the Loire, in addition to Alëmania, which he had formerly received. At the age of fourteen, in presence of an assembly of the states of that country, he was solemnly constituted and crowned king of Neustria, and in all respects placed on the same footing with the three other princes, the kings of Italy, Bavaria, and Aquitain.

A. D. 835.

Charles
king of
Neustria.
A. D. 837.

The death of Pepin, which happened the year after, presented a new object to the insatiable ambition of the empress. She renewed the negotiation with Lothaire, and obtained a new di-

A. D. 837. vision and final settlement of the empire betwixt him and Charles. To the latter was given the whole territories of France west of the Meuse, and the Rhone; and to the former, all the rest of the empire, except Bavaria, which belonged to Lewis: and Lothaire bound himself solemnly by oath to abide by this settlement, and faithfully to aid and protect Charles as his tutor.

Death of
Lewis the
Mild.

A. D. 840.

The king of Bavaria, not unreasonably dissatisfied with this preference and unequal division, testified his indignation by having recourse to arms. Twice his father defeated, and pardoned him. But the fatigue of a long and rapid march from Aquitain to Germany, exhausted the strength of a constitution already enfeebled and declining. Finding that his end was approaching, he directed his mind to the final arrangement of his affairs. He sent the imperial sword, the crown, and sceptre, to Lothaire, with this memorial, that as emperor he was to maintain his fidelity, and to grant his protection to Charles, and his mother. Being requested to signify some favour to Lewis of Bavaria, "Tell him," said he, "that I do forgive him: but that he makes my grey hairs to descend with sorrow to the grave."

The appearance of two comets, and an eclipse of the sun, oppressed his feeble and superstitious mind with fear. For six weeks he ate nothing almost, but the consecrated bread, which he received every morning. He died the 18th of June A. D. 840, in the 62d year of his age, and

and 27th of his reign. He was undoubtedly a ^{A. D. 840.} weak prince, but in private life might have proved an amiable man ²¹.

SECT. II.

*The History of France under the Sons of LEWIS I. from
A. D. 840 to A. D. 877.*

IN the height of the prosperity both of the Merovingian and Carlovingian kings of France, we trace the causes of their decline and fall. Under their domestic favour, and by their royal munificence, a power arose, which undermined and overthrew them. By gratifying the ambition of the mayors of the palace, Clotaire II. gave them a rank and stability, which secured to him, indeed, a great extent of empire in the mean time, but which encouraged them to depress, and enabled them to trample on, his posterity. The Carlovingians were too anxious to justify their usurpation. Pepin's extreme desire to obtain the sanction of the pope, and to hold his sovereignty apparently from God: Charlemagne's ambition of the imperial title; and the general deference of Lewis and his sons to both the clergy and the nobles, individually and in their assemblies, exalted the church and the aristocracy above the crown, palsied the state, and ruined the second race.

²¹ Ludov. Pii Vita, 835-840. Nithardi Hist. lib. i. Annal. Bertin.

A. D. 840.

State of
Europe.

The other kingdoms of Europe had little or no connection about this time with France. The Danes and Normans were predatory and barbarous tribes, rather than any great and settled kingdom or nation. The power of the Moors was declining in Spain; Alphonso had not yet resigned the sceptre of Oviedo to Ramiro; Egbert who had subdued the Heptarchy, and converted England into one great monarchy, was succeeded on his decease by his son Ethelwolf.* His reign was chiefly occupied in defending his kingdom against the Danes.

Kenneth having in a great battle near Perth conquered the Picts, about the year 842, became the first monarch of all Scotland.

The capricious Theophilus, dying a year and a half after Lewis the Mild, left the guardianship of the eastern empire, and of his infant son Michael III. to the empress, the prudent and virtuous Theodora.

Four years were yet to elapse of the long and active, though as we have seen not always prudent, reign of pope Gregory IV.

Lothaire enjoyed the territories of Italy, and part of Germany, and he claimed the title of emperor. Lewis was king of Bavaria, Charles was monarch of France; and the young Pepin, their nephew, aimed to recover Aquitaine, the kingdom of Pepin his father.

The

The first great subject of contention among these princes, the sons of Lewis, was the imperial title, and the authority which it implied. To the friends of Charles it seemed to belong to him, as sovereign of France, which had been considered more recently as the seat of empire. Lothaire and his friends, with more reason, argued the first partition, and settlement in the council of Aix A. D. 817. by which he was appointed the associate and successor of his father, and the confirmation of that appointment, and his consecration by the pope: that though his father had attempted it, he was not competent to nullify these solemn deeds: and even granting his right and power to annul them, he had also the right and power to restore the original appointment, which he had actually done A. D. 838. That deed he had confirmed, as far as it could be done, on his death-bed, by sending to Lothaire the imperial crown, sword, and sceptre. With respect to the authority annexed to the title, there could be no doubt that it involved the subordination and homage of the other princes within the boundaries of the empire to him, as their lord paramount.

A. D. 810.

Lothaire
claims the
Imperial
title;

These arguments in favour of Lothaire's claim were urged industriously over the empire, while he actively prepared the means by which he hoped effectually to enforce them. He summoned his friends in France to attend him, as soon as they should receive notice of his arrival with an army on that side of the Alps.

A. D. 840.

In order to cover his plan from Charles, he continued to assure him of friendship and peace. He remonstrated against the attack which Charles meditated on their young friend Pepin, whom Lothaire had secretly engaged as his ally to make a diversion on the side of Aquitain in his favour. He proposed that his claim of Aquitain as the inheritance of his father, should be discussed betwixt them afterwards in a personal interview.

Charles was deceived: he withdrew from Aquitain, and so allowed Pepin opportunity, and his friends encouragement, to increase, and unite their power.

Is opposed
by Lewis
and
Charles.

But Lewis of Bavaria was more discerning and active. He claimed no right to the imperial power and name. He was ambitious only to be independent of it: and he hoped to secure that independence, by uniting his interests and forces with those of Charles. He foresaw the policy of Lothaire, which was to attack each of them singly, and as he thought unprepared; and to begin, as he hoped, with the conquest of Bavaria.

On descending from the Alps, Lothaire found Lewis encamped at Worms, and ready to draw out his troops to meet him in battle. Lothaire was unwilling, in this unexpected situation, to hazard an engagement. He flattered himself with the success of the secret emissaries whom he had dispersed over the empire. He wanted time to try what effect they might produce.

He

He trusted in the means of seduction, which had succeeded so well repeatedly against the camp of his father. He proposed a truce therefore of a few weeks, which Lewis agreed to the more readily, as he learned that the Saxons, instigated by Lothaire's emissaries, had invaded Bavaria. These he was able soon to repel, and to chastise; and he returned to his former ground before the truce was expired. Trusting still to artifice rather than to arms, Lothaire persuaded him to prolong the truce to November.

A. D. 849.

That interval Lothaire employed in turning his arms against Charles, who, yet unsuspicious, feared nothing less than an attack from him, whom he believed to be far distant in Germany, and of whose friendship, besides, he had received such strong assurances. He had marched into Aquitain, to counteract the plans, and to quell the insurrections forming with general success in favour of Pepin. Abandoning these with perturbation, he flew to the defence of his eastern dominions. But acting without due deliberation and plan, at the pressing intreaties of his mother, who was in imminent danger of being seized by Pepin at Bourges, he returned to protect her, and those provinces which were threatened in the very centre of France.

His success.

Lothaire enjoyed the advantage of this very seasonable and great diversion, and pressed forward with little resistance. As he advanced, his army, through both fear and favour, in-

A. D. 840. creased. He marched straight to Paris, without needing almost to unsheath his sword. He proceeded towards the Loire; Brittany declared for him, and the whole of France north of the Loire seemed to have submitted to him.

Yet Charles had many firm adherents, who, in this extremity, inspired him with confidence. They were forced along by the general current, or were under the necessity of remaining passive till the tide arose in the opposite direction: but they assured him, that if his affairs required it, they would die with him rather than desert him. With such an army as he could muster, comparatively small but zealous and brave, Charles resolved to keep up the spirit of his friends, and to march against the enemy. Both encamped near Orleans. Neither of them was very willing to hazard an engagement. Lothaire proposed negotiation, and as usual attempted seduction. The terms which he offered were hard, but it was judged better for Charles in his present circumstances to accept of them. If he fought, and was vanquished, his affairs would be ruined. By submission and peace, a favourable opportunity might soon occur, of assembling a more powerful army, and recovering all his dominions: with the consent therefore of his army, he accepted of Aquitain, Languedoc, Provence, and ten counties betwixt the Loire and the Seine, as all his portion of the empire.

* Nithardi, lib. ii. Annal. Faldens. Bertin, Metens. A. D. 840-1.

This treaty was employed on both sides as a mere cover of the operations by which each endeavoured to strengthen his party, and to prepare for war. Lothaire studied to alienate the friends of Charles from him, and to prevent all intercourse betwixt him and the king of Bavaria; Charles, on the other hand, tried to secure Aquitain against the influence of Pepin. He recovered Brittany: particularly the count Lambert, and the duke Nomenoi, who assured him of their attachment, and zeal for his service. But he was chiefly solicitous to pass the Seine, in order to open and facilitate his intercourse with Lewis. That river was guarded in the neighbourhood of Paris, but not so far down as Rouen, where it becomes broad, and more difficult to pass. Thither Charles led his army, and by means of some merchant ships which he pressed into his service on that occasion, floated over his troops, almost without opposition.

The exertions and success of Charles rendered it necessary for Lothaire to withdraw his troops from Germany. Those which remained, were immediately attacked and defeated by Lewis, who having little more to fear in that quarter, improved his advantage, crossed the Rhine, and by a rapid march passed Lothaire, and joined the army of Charles. Lothaire, now inferior, did all he could, by proposals of negotiation, to gain time, and retreated cautiously towards Aquitain, till he was joined by Pepin. Both armies were great, and equally formidable: and both resolved, according to the custom and phrase

A. D. 840. phrase of those times, to refer their cause to the judgment of God, each ascribing to the ambition and obstinacy of the other, the guilt of that blood which was to be shed.

Battle of
Fontenoy.

A. D. 841.

On the 25th of June, A. D. 841, was fought the memorable battle of Fontenoy, in Burgundy. At day-break the two allied kings seized an eminence near the camp of Lothaire, on which they drew up their army, with a large front opposed to him. Lothaire declined not the challenge: he ranged his army, so as to head himself the attack against Lewis and his Bavarians, while Pepin advanced against Charles.

The ardor of the troops on both sides was equal: the princes who headed them were not only animated by ambition and pride, but they knew, that on the issue of that engagement their crown and liberty depended. The fury and violence of the first shock were proportioned to the magnitude of the cause for which they fought. They rushed against one another with impetuosity: they darted their javelins: they thrust with the spear: the horsemen aimed to strike with main force, to pierce where openings of the helmet or cuirass appeared; to jostle, and overturn one another. After several hours of fierce and awful combat, Lothaire seemed to have routed his antagonist Lewis, when he was opportunely attacked in flank. Charles, having at the same time defeated Pepin, came to the assistance of Lewis; Lothaire's army fled in all directions, or threw down their arms; and the allied kings unwilling, and per-
haps

haps unable, to increase the slaughter by a close pursuit, remained victorious on the field of battle ^{A. D. 841.} ~~of battle~~ ^{Consequences,}

The number slain is said by all the contemporary historians, and particularly by Nithard who was present, to have been very great; but none of them mention the number, which by subsequent writers has been stated at a hundred thousand. Some authors trace to the carnage of that day, the custom in Champagne, by which, to repair the loss of nobility, children became ennobled by their mother, whatever the father's rank might be; and also the law, that the nobility should not be obliged to attend their vassals in war, excepting only in the case of invasion.

Charles and Lewis, persuaded that God had decided in their favour, proposed to express their gratitude by suitable expressions of piety and benevolence. They interred the corpses of both friends and foes with becoming respect and solemnity: they ordered that the wounded without distinction should be treated with all humanity and tenderness: they published an act of indemnity, in favour of all those, in whatever province, who would now join them, or cheerfully and without reserve declare for them; and they proclaimed a fast of three days, in order to

* Nithard: ad fin. lib. ii. Annal. Bertin. M. Abbe le Bœuf. Mem. de l'Acad. tom. xviii. p. 303.

† Pere Dan. Hist. de France, Henault's Chron. Abridgment.

A. D. 847.

implore forgiveness to themselves, for the blood now shed by them, and to pray for the repose of their countrymen, who had fallen in such numbers, and on both sides, in the battle.

Charles improves not his advantages.

Almost all Neustria was now ready to have submitted to Charles, had he marched into it directly with his victorious army. But he wanted discernment to perceive the duplicity and artifices of Bernard the duke of Languedoc. He was neglected by that duke till the engagement was over: he was then complimented by him: he was persuaded by him to neglect Neustria, and to march immediately, however distant, to Aquitain: there he was amused with proposals of submission, till his army, wearied with the severity and tediousness of the campaign, melted away, obliged him to retire, and by the time that he had reached the Loire, they had almost totally deserted him.

Lothaire's mistaken policy towards the Saxons.

Lothaire, on the other hand, spared no pains, by intrigue and military exertions, to retain the people of Neustria in subjection to him; but his plans were ill-devised, and unsteadily executed. He was too eager at the same time to invade Bavaria, which divided his attention, and distracted his operations; and his policy towards the Saxons, however well-intended towards them, excited against him the prejudices and aversion of the clergy, and was sufficient, in those times, to alienate from him the Christian world.

The

The policy of Charlemagne rendered him zealous to christianise the Saxons. His design was not merely to gratify the church, but to civilize the people, to diminish the influence of ancient customs, which were adverse to foreign authority, and to facilitate, in general, their steady subjection to his government. Lothaire, whose genius was more occupied with a single and immediate advantage, than with distant prospects, and with relative and profound views of either civil or ecclesiastical policy, thought that he would gratify the Saxons, and secure their assistance thereby the more cheerfully against Bavaria, if he relieved them from the restraints of Christianity, and granted them a general toleration. Fond of the name and appearance of liberty, however adverse to their civil and moral interests, they thankfully accepted the toleration offered them, and repaired readily to the standard of their supposed benefactor.

A. D. 841.

Lewis observed the storm gathering against Bavaria, and particularly on the side of Saxony: he requested Charles to embrace the opportunity of Lothaire's absence and distance, to invade and recover Neustria. He foresaw that this would disconcert the enemy, and probably withdraw him altogether from Germany. The plan succeeded: the design on Bavaria was relinquished: and every exertion was made, to oppose Charles, and to retain Neustria. But Lothaire was now obnoxious in this country, on account of his unchristian-like indulgence of Paganism in Saxony, so contrary to the ecclesiastical

A. D. 841.

His mean-
ness.

cal canons, to the interests of Christendom, and to the whole spirit and administration of Charlemagne's government. Besides, even his friends, who were not so much affected by religious considerations, could not depend on his mode of warfare, which, however active, was desultory and changeable. His own views and conduct too were mean, and often immoral. Whatever were his ends, he generally preferred base means and low cunning to attain them: he studied to separate friends from one another, in order to secure them, or some of them, to himself, by sowing among them the seeds of suspicion and discord.

Finding all his other measures frustrated, he now tried, if possible, to interrupt the friendship, which had subsisted since their father's death, betwixt his two great opponents, Lewis and Charles: he studied to revive in the mind of Lewis, the prejudice and hatred which he had entertained, during their father's life, against the mother of Charles, the empress Judith. He endeavoured to alienate Charles from Lewis, by proposing to him a treaty, by which the one should abandon Lewis, and the other Pepin, and so divide betwixt themselves the empire. At the same time he and his friends industriously circulated the most extravagant reports to the prejudice of these princes: that they were dead, that they were at enmity, that they had abandoned their interests and friends in Neustria, and were no longer able to afford them either countenance or protection.

To

To counteract the effect of these reports, A. D. 842.
 Lewis and Charles embraced every favourable opportunity of cultivating personal friendship, and of manifesting publicly a real and steady attachment. They sent frequent presents to one another. As often as they could meet in the same place, they ate at one table, lodged under one roof, and in public assemblies treated each other with the utmost respect and deference; avoided every appearance of artifice, and spoke their opinion with openness and candour. Such conduct could not fail to be contrasted, to the prejudice of their elder brother, with his low chicanery and unprincipled intrigues.

Notwithstanding all his efforts to prevent them, they were able by their own activity, and the general popularity which they acquired, to join their forces early in the spring. They met at Strasburgh on the 12th February A. D. 842. In the presence, and with the concurrence of the two armies, they resolved to bind themselves and their friends in alliance by the most solemn engagements and vows. They addressed each his own army in a speech, which Nithard, who was present, has recorded: Lewis, in the Indesque, Teutonic, or old German; and Charles, in the same speech, but in the Roman language, a corruption and mixture of Celtic and Latin, their vulgar tongue; as follows:

Treaty of
 Strasburgh.
 A. D. 842.

“ You all know,” said Lewis, “ the rage
 “ with which Lothaire hath persecuted this my
 “ brother and me, since our father’s death: Speech and
 oath of the
 allied
 kings.
 “ that

A. D. 843.

“ that he hath left no means untried to ruin
 “ us both : that neither the interesting relation
 “ of brother, nor the awful principles of reli-
 “ gion, nor any considerations of wisdom or of
 “ justice, have availed to obtain peace from
 “ him. We were forced at last to appeal, in
 “ the battle of Fontenoy, to the judgment of
 “ Almighty God, willing to submit to whatever
 “ he might solemnly determine : and you know,
 “ that it pleased God to decide in our favour,
 “ by vouchsafing to us the victory. Restrained
 “ by natural affection, and by the love of our
 “ countrymen, when our vanquished brother
 “ fled, we did not use the advantage which
 “ our superiority might have given us, to pur-
 “ sue him, and to shed more of the blood of
 “ the Christian people. We remembered
 “ that he is our brother : we repressed the
 “ ardour of the soldiers : though conquerors,
 “ we condescended still to solicit justice. But
 “ what end is there to his rage and cruelty
 “ against this my brother and me, and against
 “ our common country, which he persists to
 “ desolate with fire and sword ?

“ Wherefore we are now met together, for
 “ the purpose of doing all we can to terminate
 “ these evils, by a solemn league and joint
 “ operation. And as some of you have been
 “ insidiously taught to entertain doubts of the
 “ sincerity of our friendship, we have resolved
 “ to swear in your presence, that we are not
 “ moved by any sinister considerations, by un-
 “ reasonable ambition, nor wicked resentment ;
 “ but, as God is our witness and aid, that we are
 “ animated

“ animated by an earnest desire to promote and A. D. 842.
 “ secure the public welfare and peace. And I
 “ solemnly declare, that if I shall ever violate
 “ the oath which I am now to take, which God
 “ forbid, you shall be free from your allegiance
 “ to me, and from the oath which you also are
 “ now to take.”

Charles having addressed the same speech
 (*mutatis mutandis*) to his people, Lewis ad-
 vanced, and solemnly swore, saying, “ For the
 “ love of God, for the good of the Christian
 “ people, and for our common security, I swear,
 “ that I will henceforth employ all my forces,
 “ as far as I am able, to defend king Charles
 “ my brother, in every condition, and at all
 “ hazards, as one brother ought to defend an-
 “ other, and as I would that he should do to
 “ me; and I swear, that I will engage in no
 “ treaty with Lothaire, which, in my con-
 “ science, I shall think prejudicial to Charles.”

Charles having repeated the same oath, both
 armies were called on to swear in like manner,
 to bind themselves to the faithful service of their
 princes respectively, to support this solemn
 league, and to abandon him who should first
 violate it ³.

³ Nithardi Historia, lib. iii. Nithard was the grand-
 son of Charlemagne by his daughter Bertha, was an of-
 ficer in the army of Charles, and wrote his history by
 royal authority. Præf. ad lib. i.

A. D. 842.

Lothaire is
routed, and
flees.

These interesting transactions being finished, the two armies marched with great spirit against Lothaire, and having engaged his army on the bank of the Moselle, easily routed it. Their union and this success augmented their courage and their numbers. The enemy and his adherents were proportionally diminished. He fled to Aix, to Chalons, to Troyes, to Lyons, whence he had reason, from the growing disaffection of the French, to apprehend that he should be under the necessity of withdrawing to Italy.

The two brothers, however, instead of pressing him in his extremity, as they ought to have done, allowed him time, not only to recover from his flight and panic, but to resume his usual temper and conduct, to propose negotiation, to dictate the terms, and finally to secure an equal proportion with them of the empire. Their transactions on this occasion characterise the æra, as they gave a decisive weight to the clergy and nobles over the monarch.

The allied princes, influenced by the opinion and practice of the times, and most probably advised by their clerical friends, did not consider themselves secure in the possession of the territory and power which they acquired, till it was approved and sanctioned by the church. They unsuspectingly created, or rather increased and established, a tyrannical and ecclesiastical authority, which soon after became oppressive and intolerable. They acknowledged that power,

which the bishops now avowed and claimed, to confer the crown and sceptre on whom they pleased. A. D. 843.

Having assembled a synod at Aix-la-Chapelle, they requested that reverend meeting, for the sake of the people and for the general peace and security of France, to deprive Lothaire of all those dominions from which they had already expelled him on this side the Alps. Synod of Aix.

The bishops having heard this humble petition, and deliberated on it as a matter on which they only had a right to decide, resolved, that Lothaire's conduct, both before and since his father's death, had uniformly shewn him to be unworthy of any share in the government: that God himself had signified this clearly by the awful defeat of that prince at Fontenoy, and more recently by his repeated and shameful flights before the allied armies. Wherefore they declared him unworthy, and incapable to reign.

At the same time they added, that they would not permit the two princes, their petitioners, to assume the government in his room, until they promised, in the presence of the people, that they would regulate their conduct and administration according to the law of God. The princes assented: and the president then said to them, "Receive ye the kingdom by the authority of God, and govern

A. D. 842. " it, we warn, we exhort, we command you,
" according to his will⁴."

The two princes proceeded next to divide this portion of their brother's dominions betwixt them ; and for this purpose each of them chose and appointed twelve commissioners, of whom Nithard the historian was one. All France to the Meuse and the Rhine, fell to Charles ; and all Germany beyond the Rhine, to Lewis. But this settlement was of short duration.

Lothaire
solicits, and
obtains a
new parti-
tion.

Lothaire, who lingered on the Rhone, unwilling to abandon his territories in France and Germany without some new attempt to recover them, in the most humble manner sent to the allied kings proposals of peace, requesting them only to allow him a third share of the empire : at the same time he besought them, to consider the acts and will of their venerable grandfather Charlemagne, in constituting the Imperial title, and the sacred destination of it by their late father : that surely it descended to him, which if they admitted, he would add, that duly to maintain it would require some additional territory. While he stated these things, he concluded, that he was willing to negotiate with them, on the basis of any other terms which they should propose.

Such was the temper of the allied princes, that they could not resist a proposal, which ap-

⁴ Nithardi Hist. lib. iv.

peared

peared to them so moderate and reasonable. A. D. 842.
 They relinquished their conquest: they relinquished the gift of the church, so lately and solemnly conferred on them, and with all the fickleness of children invited Lothaire to a personal conference. At that conference they agreed to a truce from that time (June) till October, which afterwards they prolonged from time to time till the treaty was finished. They appointed each of them forty commissioners, with full power to divide the whole empire into three equal parts, to be assigned to the three princes by an inviolable treaty. When the commissioners met, first at Metz, and then at Coblenz, it was found, that not one of them was sufficiently acquainted with the country, its limits, qualities, advantages and disadvantages, to enable them to form a just division. They judged it more wise and equitable, therefore, to adjourn, till they should obtain proper information on the subject⁵.

They finally met in June at Verdun, and agreed, that Lothaire, with the title of emperor, should have all Italy, the country between the Rhine and the Scheldt, with Hainault, Cambray, and all the countries east of the Meuse and the Rhone, and southwards to the Mediterranean sea; that Lewis should possess all Germany east of the Rhine, with the cities of Worms, Spire, and Mentz, with their territories, to supply him with wine, which Germany did not then produce; and that Charles

Treaty of
Verdun.
A. D. 843.

⁵ Nithardi Hist. lib. iv. with which his history ends.

A. D. 843. should reign sole master of France. Having solemnly declared their entire satisfaction with this partition, they departed each to his respective dominions ⁶.

In the mean time, the empress Judith, one of the chief causes of all their dissensions, but the indefatigable author of Charles's rise and greatness, died before this treaty was concluded. In the month of December A. D. 842, Charles married Hermentrude, the niece of Adelard, one of the most political and powerful noblemen in France, by which his authority was considerably increased and extended.

Pepin submits to hold Aquitaine as a vassal of France.
A. D. 845.

Pepin, who was neglected in the treaty of partition, endeavoured himself to secure Aquitaine. After a severe contest, in which many of his friends were sacrificed, he prevailed with Charles to confer that district and government on him, not as a sovereign, but as a vassal, dependent feudally on the king of France.

During the absence of Lothaire from Italy, Sergius II. had succeeded pope Gregory IV., and, like several of his predecessors, made no acknowledgment to the emperor. Lewis, Lothaire's eldest son, was therefore dispatched to Rome to enquire into that neglect, to receive the usual homage of the Romans, and to demand the tribute due by the duke of Benevento. The numerous army which he carried with him, to support his authority, and to en-

⁶ Annal. Bertin.

A. D. 845.

force these ends of his mission, having proved disorderly, offended the pope, and gave him occasion, with dignity and firmness, to challenge the design of his coming. The young prince, separated from his friends, in the church of St. Peter, with shut doors, attacked in that manner so unexpected, was disconcerted: he assured his holiness that he had no bad intention. His apology and assurance were accepted: the doors of the church were opened: the prince was gratified with all the honours usually paid to the emperor, was crowned king of Lombardy, and obtained verbal satisfaction on the other subjects of his mission. The haughtiness of the pope, and the general indifference of the Romans, and other Italian states, on this occasion, shewed how much the weakness of Lewis the Mild, and the dissensions of his sons, had diminished the respect of the holy see, and of the Italians generally, for the Carlovingian emperors⁷.

The Normans, a general name of the nations who inhabited the regions north of the Baltic, had often infested the coasts of France, even during the vigorous government of Charlemagne. The late domestic contentions and civil wars rendered them now far more adventurous and formidable. They entered the Seine, under the command of Regnier, with a hundred and twenty ships. The people of Rouen were terrified, and opened their gates. Encouraged by this, they advanced to Paris, and found it abandoned. Charles proposed to attack them,

March.

⁷ Annales Bertinian. Anastasius,

A. D. 845. but was dissuaded through fear of the consequences. The forces which he had assembled on so short a notice were comparatively few: his barons were not cordially united under him, nor zealous to serve him: a defeat might have proved fatal to the kingdom. He paid the Normans seven thousand pounds weight of silver, with which he hoped to have redeemed France from their dominion. Prudent, as well as bold, Regnier accepted the ransom, rather than venture to push the country to extremity, to rouse the people, and to ruin himself: he sailed home, promising, as they usually did on such occasions, never to return. But he gave such accounts to his countrymen, of his success, of the riches of France, and of the timidity of its inhabitants, as naturally induced them to similar expeditions.

Very different was the conduct of Lewis and his Germans. When Oricus, who is called king of the Normans, sailed up the Elbe with six hundred ships, he attacked them with his Saxons, and entirely defeated them.

The Saracens were formidable, though not for so long a time, in Italy. They routed the army of Lewis, king of Lombardy: they invaded Beneventum, and even plundered Rome.

A. D. 848. In returning to Spain, however, with their sacrilegious booty, a storm arose, and they generally perished. This, with a victory gained over another Saracen army, by Lothaire next year, checked and overawed them.

The

The distracted state of the empire, and the feeble administration of Charles, gave encouragement not only to foreign invasion, but to domestic insubordination and rebellion. Some of the great feudal lords aimed at independence and sovereignty, each in his own dominions. Nomenoi, duke of Brittany, for several years refused Charles homage. He even levied troops against him, and defeated him. A temporary submission suspended the war; but it was finally terminated only by his death A. D. 851^{*}.

A. D. 845.

The nobles and clergy, the dukes, counts, great barons, bishops, and abbots, of late became extremely ambitious: they were jealous of one another, and regardless of regal authority. The princes singly were often incapable of controlling these powerful subjects, and of enforcing their summons or commands. It seemed a wise policy therefore, to unite the whole force of the empire, when necessary to compel feudal homage and subjection. For this purpose, and for promoting the general peace and prosperity of the empire, the three brothers held a conference at Marma, a palace near Thionville, in which they formed and enacted several important regulations for securing the order and welfare of their dominions: that they should not interfere, any one, with the subjects of another: that they should not conceal any thing to another's prejudice, nor protect another's subjects who had fled from justice: that they should unite their forces against any

Treaty of
Marma.
A. D. 852.

^{*} Annal. Bertin. Faldens. Metens. A. D. 845—850.

A. D. 845. of their subjects, or dependent states, who rebelled, or refused them respectively due homage and subjection⁹.

Formidable as such an union seemed, it was scarcely sufficient to maintain the subjection of some haughty nobles. Gilbert a baron, and vassal of the kingdom of France, clandestinely married a daughter of the emperor Lothaire, and carried her into Aquitain. Her father, supposing that he would not have attempted an act so daring without the countenance of his lord paramount, complained of it to Charles as a violation of their late treaty. The latter satisfied him, that he had not been privy to the marriage, and outrage on his family. The united power of both, however, was not able to apprehend Gilbert, nor procure his condemnation; and, after some time, they judged it necessary to acquiesce, and to pardon him¹⁰.

Such being their power singly, the union of several of them together would have rendered them irresistible. This their own ambition, jealousies, and resentments, generally prevented. The clergy acted more cordially and uniformly as a body, and were often successfully employed to check and overawe the barons singly; yet their authority appeared feeble, when it was opposed by the power of the confederated nobles.

⁹ Annal. Bertin. Capital. Carol. Calvi, A. D. 851.

¹⁰ Annal. Faldens. 846.

Since

Since the time that Charles Martel seized the church-lands, in aid of the war against the Saracens, and conferred them as benefices on his officers and army, the clergy had often murmured at the apparent injustice then done to them: they considered not, that the war was undertaken to defend them; that had it not been for his exertions, and those of his army then, the Christian church probably had not now existed: that he had sacrificed a part for the whole, and had no other means of exciting and rewarding the zeal and valour of his troops: they embraced every opportunity, which seemed favourable, for claiming and recovering these benefices, as the patrimony of the church. Their influence, which was lately capable of dethroning and creating kings, seemed equal to the exertion requisite, on their part, for restraining the rights and property of the church. The feeble administration of Charles, his soft temper, and general prejudice in their favour, all encouraged them now to make the attempt.

A. D. 845.

Contention
of the
clergy and
nobles.

During the present tranquillity therefore, (for the kingdom was for some years almost undisturbed by either civil or foreign wars,) an assembly was convened for this purpose at Epernay. It being understood that this subject was to be then discussed, both nobles and clergy attended in great numbers.

Assembly.
at Epernay.
A. D. 846.

The clergy demanded formally the restoration of the church-lands, which had been invaded by Charles Martel, and by other princes
and

A. D. 846.

and nobles, when they had opportunity, since that time. The subject being fully heard and discussed, was referred to Charles. He admitted its importance, and on the whole was rather disposed to gratify the clergy; but he was sensible that his real dignity and power depended on the nobles. The one might in their corporate capacity oftener support him in ordinary occurrences, and contribute to render him generally comfortable; but the other were the foundation of his regal existence, and in the present circumstances were not to be controlled. He was unwilling to disoblige the former, and to refuse them his support; he durst not venture, however, to denude the latter of the property which they had received from their fathers, by whatever title or cause they originally acquired it. They were understood to hold it, as the reward of faithful, laborious, and often dangerous services to the church and state. He prudently judged it more expedient for him to leave the matter to the joint decision of the assembly; and if, as was most likely, they could not agree, to remain neutral.

In farther discussing the subject, the bishops urged the original destination of the territories which they claimed; the statutes or canons of divers councils, claiming the restoration of these lands, according to that destination; and the necessity and importance of maintaining the provision and dignity of the church, for the sake of religion, and for the subsistence of the poor.

The

The nobles, on the other hand, treated with scorn the statutes of the church, as opposed to their interests and right of inheritance. They admitted, that many of them held church-lands, however acquired, and as her vassals paid her an yearly feudal rent and homage: that they were liable and ready, when summoned by her, to perform due military service: that they had suffered much, and purchased some of their lands dear; by the calamities which they had sustained during the civil wars: nevertheless they were still cheerfully ready to expose their lives and fortunes in the defence of both church and state. But if the reward of their service, if the means of their subsistence, were ungenerously taken from them, the country and the church must be exposed, without protection, an easy prey to any domestic plunderer, or foreign invader: that it ill became the clergy thus perpetually to murmur, and now to attempt to strip them of their legal and well-earned property: that as the nobles did not intermeddle with their ecclesiastical, so neither must the clergy intermeddle with their civil rights and state-affairs: that the lay proprietors, being the real strength and natural counsellors of the state, were entitled, if they should see cause, to examine and annul any canons inimical to good order and peace: and that they would, by no means, submit implicitly, as had been lately too much supposed, to ecclesiastical decrees. In token that they were in earnest, they demanded that the canons of the council of Meaux, of which they had heard unfavourable reports, should now be submitted to them; and

A. D. 846.

A. D. 846. and that they might inspect them with more freedom and leisure, they required the bishops and clergy to withdraw from this assembly.

This demand, which was necessarily fulfilled, excited opposition and tumult. But epistles and memorials, words, and ecclesiastical menaces, availed not against self-interest, accompanied with the strong arm of military power. The clergy submitted, and for a season their pride was humbled, and their arrogance and avarice were restrained¹¹.

Assembly
of Meisen.
A. D. 847.

Peace and good understanding continued to be promoted and cultivated, notwithstanding occasional differences among the three royal brothers. They observed that the concord and union of the empire, as well as their several interests and those of their families, depended much on the mode of succession to the crown, which hitherto was never sufficiently regulated and determined. Both under the former and the present dynasties, the sons of the deceased monarch were understood to be equally his successors by law, if there was no particular destination by the father. This vague rule had repeatedly broken down the empire by partitions without end. It had been sometimes set aside by reasons of expediency, and by violence. Charlemagne's rule, contained in his testament, or charter of the division of the empire among his sons, was, that a son, supposing but one,

¹¹ Concil. Gallor. tom. iii. Hincmari Epistolæ. Annales. Bertin.

ought to succeed his father, provided that the people approved, and also elected him. He supposed the case of one son: he did not specify any thing respecting seniority, or a preference of one son to another; and he left much in the choice of the people. A. D. 847.

His leading idea was to prevent others, as uncles, from interfering with the inheritance of their nephew, on his father's decease, while he was yet a minor, weak, and unprotected. This idea, adopted by the assembly of Mersen, was converted by them into a law; viz. that a kingdom ought to pass in a direct line from father to son, without being diverted by uncles, or others, from the legal heir ¹².

After a life of restless and unsuccessful ambition, which had many years distracted the empire, Lothaire felt his end approaching. His conscience was troubled; and if he reflected seriously on his accountableness, there was abundant cause to fear. The superstition of the times, however, taught him that the habit of a monk, and the cell of a monastery, would secure his admission to Heaven. He made haste, therefore, to strip himself of that royal pageantry which he once so ardently desired. He made them carry him to the abbey of Prum, and there took the vow and habit of a monk: trusting that this voluntary humility, this religious place and habit, would expiate all Death of
Lothaire.
A. D. 855.

¹² Capitul. Carol. Calvi. Concil. Gallor. Art. 9.
A. D. 847.

A. D. 855. his crimes. He died in the end of September A. D. 855., in the 60th year of his age ; and, reckoning from his father's death, in the 15th year of his reign¹³.

Accession
of his three
sons.

The empire of Charlemagne, already broken by its partition among his grandsons, became still more divided by the distribution of Lothaire's dominions among his three sons, Lewis, Lothaire, and Charles. The first was already crowned, and in possession of the kingdom of Lombardy, or, as we shall now call it more generally, of Italy. The second received that part of Austrasia directly north from Italy, lying betwixt the Meuse and the Rhine, a part of which retains still, from him and his father, the name of *Lorraine*¹⁴ ; and the third succeeded to the estates of Provence, of Dauphiné, and a part of Burgundy. The two uncles faithfully executed the treaty of Mersen, allowed their nephews to enter peaceably on the possession of their governments, and the people cordially welcomed them.

Charles the Bald at the same time conferred the title and authority of king of Aquitain on his son Charles. The empire was thus governed by a Lothaire, two Lewises, and three Charleses. We shall find some difficulty to avoid confusion among so many rulers of the same names.

¹³ Annales Bertin. Metens. & Faldens. Each of these authors mention a different day of his death.

¹⁴ Lotharii Regnum.

The frequent changes, for many years, in the government of Aquitain, rendered not only that people fickle and seditious, but communicated a turbulent spirit to the neighbouring states. Brittany was always prone to insurrection, and ambitious of independence. To the people of these states every act of administration seemed a grievance. They represented Charles, who often had occasion to chastise them, as peevish and vindictive; and they were disposed to seize the first favourable opportunity of shewing their resentment. When he summoned them to arm, and to repel the Normans from the isle of Oïssel, a few leagues below Rouen²⁵, he was astonished to learn that they were rising in arms, to execute a scheme, devised five years before, to dethrone him, and to confer his kingdom of France on his brother Lewis the king of Germany. His soft and unenterprising mind sunk under the apprehension of this conspiracy. Instead of that energy, promptitude, and boldness,

A. D. 855.

Conspiracy
against
Charles the
Bald.

²⁵ The situation of this island has occasioned no small controversy. M. de Valois, P. P. Mabillon, Felibien, Dubois, Daniel, Bouilland, Dupleffis, place it as stated above. Mem. de l'Acad. tom. xx.

M. l'Abbé de Bœuf says, "The Isle of Oïssel was smaller than that of the city of Paris, but three times longer, being about 1500 toises, or a mile and three quarters English, beginning opposite to the village de la Chauffée in the parish of Bougival, and reaching considerably below the machine of Marli." Ibid. tom. xx. p. 106 and 134.

M. Balure places it near Melun.

M. Bonamy takes it from de la Chauffée, where M. le Bœuf had settled it, and restores it to its situation above mentioned, near Rouen. Mem. de l'Acad.

A. D. 855. which would have disconcerted their measures, he encouraged them, and dispirited his friends, by yielding to the partial current.

He proposed a conference; but they were determined. They sent two of their faction with the offer of the crown of France to Lewis; and they urged his immediate acceptance, and speedy march to support and accomplish the revolution. They represented Charles as unworthy to reign; as incapable to defend them against the Normans, who were ravaging the country in every direction; as a tyrant, on whose promise, and even oath, they could have no dependence. Lewis felt, or affected great concern and hesitation. His character and conduct hitherto, compared to his brother's, have appeared to advantage. With regret we see him relinquishing the path of simplicity and rectitude, to encourage and head conspirators against a brother, and long his steadfast ally against Lothaire. As a native of France, he said, he was interested in its welfare; but as the brother of Charles, it seemed unbecoming in him to encourage any plan injurious to his government. At the same time he added, that he would submit to the judgment of others, and without delay would advise with his ministers. His ministers, it is observed, knew his inclinations, and encouraged them. They advised him to rescue France from its oppressors; religion from the power of infidels; and the kingdom of France from falling under the yoke of the Saracens and Normans.

The crown of France offered to Lewis of Germany.

Weaker

Weaker arguments were sufficient to impel a willing mind. Lewis marched with a great army; encamped near Sens; sent for the archbishop of that diocese, and prevailed with him to assemble the clergy for the purpose of deposing Charles. The archbishop obeyed: the clergy convened; and after deliberation, and finding just cause of procedure against Charles, they solemnly deposed him.

A. D. 855.
Charles is
deposed.

Had Lewis continued to pursue the degraded monarch, now so deserted and forlorn, he might have secured the kingdom, and finished the war; but he lost time in holding councils, in consulting the clergy, and in bestowing rewards. From the total desertion of his brother, he believed the country gained, and no farther activity necessary. In a short time, however, disappointments, jealousies, various discontents arose. The conduct of Lewis was not more universally satisfactory than that of Charles. The friends of the latter recovered from their consternation: they were readily joined by all the dissatisfied and fickle of the opposite party. Some of them employed the arts of duplicity, too frequent in crooked systems of policy, to undermine and overthrow the power of Lewis in France¹⁶.

They joined his party, insinuated themselves into his favour, and represented to him that his German troops were no longer necessary: that their disposition to plunder, which they often

¹⁶ Annal. Fuldens. 858.

A. D. 855. indulged, might sour the temper of the inhabitants, and excite insurrections; and that their dismissal must increase the general gratitude and attachment of the French people to him. He listened to this counsel, and left himself exposed among a people, overawed, but not firmly nor generally united to him. The tide suddenly turned. Compassion, ambition, sanguine hope, all co-operated in favour of Charles. The necessary absence of the usurper a few months in his German dominions, facilitated the revolution. As soon almost as he left France, the people of that kingdom returned as one man, and swore allegiance to Charles. New treaties were formed by these princes, new oaths were taken by them, to abstain mutually, in future, from all interference and violence; but both of them were unprincipled, and were regulated more by momentary feelings and immediate interest, than by oaths and treaties.

Is restored.
A. D. 858.

Every revolution produced some change on the tenure of property, and increased the feudal aristocracy. Political favours were necessarily purchased and rewarded: new benefices were conferred, or converted into perpetuity: offices were made hereditary: great lordships were augmented with additional offices or territories; and every such gift as necessarily exhausted the stock of the giver, diminished the territories, influence, and authority of the crown.

The

The usurpations and power of the church increased by similar means. The clergy were sufficiently sharp to observe, and active to take advantage of, the follies, the vices, the jealousies, and contentions of both princes and nobles. They resolved in the council of Savonieres, A. D. 859, to correct kings, nobles, and people committed to their charge, and to hold frequent councils for this end; and in the council of Toul the following year, assuming a superintendence of the civil power, they resolved to chastise the judges if they did not duly administer justice to the people. A. D. 858.

The ambition and influence, not only of the French clergy, but of the pope, were greatly flattered and increased by the contention which arose from Lothaire king of Lorrain's divorce of his queen Theutberge. Being accused by the king her husband of incest with her own brother, she both confessed and denied, as she happened to be intimidated or encouraged and protected. She appears to have been weak and foolish, and her licentious husband wanted to be relieved from her, in order to marry Waldrade his mistress. Gunther, archbishop of Cologne, whether convinced himself or not, persuaded his brethren, the clergy, that Theutberge was guilty. In the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, A. D. 860, they divorced her; and the council of Aix, two years after, granted Lothaire permission to marry another woman; and he married Waldrade. A. D. 862

A. D. 862.

Theutberge's friends appealed to Rome. After various enquiry, pope Nicolas annulled the decrees of the councils held on this subject; deposed Gunther, by whose artifices these councils had been corrupted and over-ruled; and threatened Lothaire with excommunication, unless he dismissed Waldrade, and restored Theutberge. The prince was intimidated, and for a season obeyed: but the passion of love, more steadily powerful than that of fear, resumed its influence, and replaced its object. Theutberge, on this, fled to Charles the Bald. He countenanced her, and concurred with her in a memorial to the pope. A sentence of excommunication was about to be issued against the guilty prince, which in those times would have reduced him to a state the most deplorable, when pope Nicolas died. His successor, Adrian II. was imposed on. Lothaire, having even obtained from him the holy sacrament, in testimony of his innocence, was seized with a mortal disease, as a divine punishment, it was thought, of his perjury, and died within the year ¹⁷.

Death of
the king of
Lorraine,
6th Aug.
A. D. 869.

His brother Charles, the king of Provence and Burgundy, having also died, both without children, their dominions fell legally to Lewis king of Italy, and emperor. Charles the Bald, however, enjoying the favour of the clergy, obtained Lorraine by their influence, and afterwards divided it with his brother Lewis, king of

¹⁷ Annal. Metenf. 864—869. Hincmar de Divort. Theutbergæ.

Germany.

Germany. The pope, who favoured the emperor, and was now accustomed to intermeddle in the civil as well as ecclesiastical affairs of France, represented their partition of Lorrain as unjust, and unbecoming their relation and duty to their nephew. He threatened them with excommunication, and prohibited the French bishops, and particularly Hincmar, at their peril, from countenancing, by any means, that usurpation.

A. D. 869.

Interference of the pope in the partition of his kingdom.

Hincmar, by appointment of his sovereign, wrote the pope a spirited answer, That it had not been customary for the pope, nor was it his duty, to interfere in the civil affairs of France: that Charles the king, being no heretic, but a respectful and obedient son of the church, did not deserve to be threatened with excommunication, nor to be branded by his holiness with impertinent names: that the clergy and people of France, however respectful to the holy see in matters ecclesiastical, would certainly treat with just neglect any attempt to extend the papal jurisdiction and authority over their civil government. A remonstrance so animated and resolute, was calculated to give a seasonable check to the extravagant pretensions of the church of Rome¹⁸.

But a settled plan of ambition is not easily frustrated. Charles the Bald having four sons, of whom Charles and Lothaire were dead, Lewis was crowned king of Aquitain; and to

¹⁸ Hincmari Epistol. ad Adrian.

A. D. 869. prevent the farther dismemberment of France, Carloman was destined to the service of religion, and placed in a monastery. A faction, deeming him a fit tool for their seditious views, rescued him from a monastic confinement, placed him at their head as a prince whom they meant to enthrone, and proceeded to ravage the country. They were soon dispersed; and he being apprehended, was put in prison. He made his escape, and raised the standard of rebellion. His father dispossessed him of all the abbacies and property which he had conferred on him, utterly disinherited him, and procured from the church his excommunication. Carloman wrote a plaintive letter to the pope, who eagerly grasped the opportunity of again intermeddling with the French government. But he interposed too warmly and too haughtily in his favour. Charles, too, felt in his present circumstances a support from both clergy and nobles, and a spirit of independence, which resented the officiousness of the Roman pontiff; and positively rejected his intercessions for Carloman¹⁹.

Death of
the emperor,
August
A. D. 875.

The death, however, of the emperor Lewis without children, required Charles to moderate his resentment, and rather to court than to offend the pope. The emperor's legal heir was Lewis of Germany, his eldest uncle, who foreseeing the event, was preparing prudently for the succession. He secured the favour of the empress and her friends in Italy, and formed

¹⁹ Epist. Adrian. Annal. Bertin. & Metens.

an alliance with Basil, emperor of Constantinople, whose fleet and army he expected in the neighbourhood to support him.

A. D. 875.

But Charles the Bald was more artful and active. He gained the clergy and nobles: he flattered the pope: he assembled a powerful army on the frontiers of Italy. As soon as he heard that the emperor was dead, he marched into that kingdom; and, from the ample and prompt protection which he afforded his friends, disposed and encouraged them to declare openly in his favour. He defeated one German army which was too lately opposed to him. By that low cunning which generally characterised him, he prevailed with his brother to withdraw another more powerful army, until, he said, as became brethren, they should settle the subject of their difference by negotiation. Taking advantage of the armistice, he went personally to Rome, and was crowned emperor by the pope²⁰.

One historian only affirms that he purchased this gift by the cession to the holy see of the sovereignty of Benevento, the duchy of Spolitto, and its dependencies; and by renouncing for ever the right of homage and acknowledgement by the pope, on his election, and before his instalment, claimed hitherto by the emperors²¹.

Charles

²⁰ Acta Concil. Pontigon. Annal. Fuldenf. & Metenf.

²¹ Eutropius Presbyter Longobard. The author of the Annal. Metenf. in confirmation of this, says, "Datis
" Joanni,

A. D. 875.

Charles the
Bald
crowned
emperor.

Charles certainly condescended to receive the Imperial title as a papal gift, in a manner calculated to aggrandize extremely the papal pride. "We have judged you," said the ambitious and haughty pontiff, "worthy of the Imperial sceptre: we have exalted you to the dignity and power of empire: we have honoured you with the title of Augustus²²."

John VIII. embraced this opportunity farther to persuade Charles, that the most effectual way of humbling the clergy, so often troublesome to him, would be to maintain a papal legate always at his court, to preside in great national councils, to whom appeals might be competent, instead of being brought to Rome, and to whom all litigated matters, civil and ecclesiastical, might be submitted. The obsequious monarch meanly acquiesced; and Ansegise, archbishop of Sens, was nominated to that high office. But the spirit of the French prelates rose indignant against this renewed attempt to subject them absolutely to a foreign yoke. Charles unwisely tried to reconcile them to it: with great tenderness to Ansegise, yet with becoming firmness, they persisted in maintaining the liberty of the Gallican church.

"Joanni, & Romanis magnis muneribus imperator creatur." The author of the *Annal. Fuldens.* uses the phrase "More Jugurthino corrupit"

²² Apud Labbeum, tom. ix. p. 255.

Mean time Lewis, disappointed in Italy, made reprisals on France. The pope threatened him, and endeavoured to persuade him to desist, and to submit to him the subject of their quarrel. His army was defeated by the French; and he died soon after at Frankfort, on the 27th August, A. D. 876.

A. D. 875.

Death of
Lewis
king of
Germany.
A. D. 876.

Even before his father's death, Lewis discovered more sound judgment and moderation than his brethren. His character suffered chiefly by his invasion of France at the head of a general conspiracy, which dethroned his ally and brother. That error was immediately punished by his sudden and disgraceful expulsion, and by the unanimous restoration of Charles. Both brothers appear weak and foolish, destitute almost of generous affections, and unrestrained by any proper and steady sense of moral obligation. Treaties and truth generally were violated by them, whenever they interfered with their selfish views, or personal interest.

The three sons of Lewis succeeded quietly to the territories allotted them by their father: Carloman, the eldest, to Bavaria, Bohemia, Carinthia, Sclavonia: Lewis to Franconia, Saxony, and some cities on the Rhine: Charles to Alemagne, extending along the Maine and to the Alps. The first was called king of Bavaria; the second, of Germany; and the third, of Alemagne. The emperor's ambition and avarice increased, as is usual, by gratification. He coveted that part of Lorraine which, by a late treaty, he had ceded to his brother. He
first

A. D. 876. first tried to seduce the people, and then marched with an army to subdue them. His nephew Lewis, to whom that country belonged, remonstrated; and finding remonstrance ineffectual, raised an army, marched against his uncle, and defeated him. A great number of the French was slain; and the emperor, almost deserted, was forced to fly for his life.

The loss of his army on this occasion, changed the general dispositions of the people. His pride and ostentation, in consequence of his imperial rank, and the insolence and boasting with which he marched to attack Lorraine, disgusted his very friends, who now in his adversity despised him. He had carried the empress with him, to witness his success and triumph. Her flight, terror, and fatigue produced a dangerous abortion. She seemed nowhere in a place of safety. The Normans were advancing in great force up the Seine: the Saracens invaded Italy. The king of Bavaria co-operated with his brother of Germany to facilitate the progress of his arms in France. Anxiety, and the fatigue of attempting to oppose so many enemies, brought a fever on Charles, of which he died at Brios, near Mount Canis, in the 54th year of his age, and 38th of his reign, October 6th, A. D. 877²³.

Death of
Charles the
Bald,
Oct. 6th,
A. D. 877.

²³ Annal. Bertin. The story of poison given him by his physician seems unfounded. Anxiety and much fatigue were causes sufficient to account for his death.

SECT. III.

History of France under the Reigns of LEWIS II., LEWIS III., and CARLOMAN, CHARLES III., and Eudes, or OTHO, from A. D. 877 to A. D. 892.

CHARLES left but one son, Lewis, called, on account of some defect in his speech, the Stammerer. The times required an active mind, and a vigorous government. Bodily infirmity rendered him incapable of mental application, and of active pursuit. He devised no political plan: he engaged in no enterprise. His reign was short and turbulent. Feeling no supreme restraint, the nobles did every one as seemed good in his own eyes.

A. D. 877.

Lewis the Stammerer.

His predecessors, by their liberality, had not only increased the number, but augmented, to a dangerous extent, the power of the nobles. Instead of the war-horse and the sword, the simple present which the ancient princes bestowed on their adherents, the late kings conferred on their friends, large estates, or the government, not of a small castle, but of a whole county or province; and they granted them, not for a season, during pleasure, or for life, but in perpetuity. Thus they raised up and established many sovereignties, dependent nominally on the crown, but able in fact singly to resist and control the royal power. Such was their power, that they sometimes demanded and extorted extensive

A. D. 877. five governments and the highest offices. On some occasions these governments and offices were exposed to the highest bidder, or were seized and possessed by the strongest arm. Under the late reigns, the feudal system, which the Merovingian princes had planted, and which Charlemagne had somewhat stunted, was nourished, and advanced fast towards maturity. The present reign favoured its growth; and by removing all restraint, began to shew, from the consequent wildness and disorder, the necessity of some suitable regulations and system. The principles and progress of that system will fall to be stated more properly in the third Chapter on Government.

Lambert's
conspiracy.

The disorders of Italy, and the flight of the pope into France, furnish the only other interesting facts during this reign. Lambert, son of Guido or Wido, duke of Spoleto, trusting to his distance from the seat of government in France, and to the feebleness of the reigning prince, presumed, without any apparent title, to aspire to the imperial crown. Countenanced and supported by Albert marquis of Tuscany, he collected an army, and marched to Rome. John, the reigning pope, declining to gratify his ambition, was seized and imprisoned by him. Finding that pontiff firm and undismayed, and that his attempt must ultimately fail, he again released him; and pretending that he acted not for himself, but for Carloman king of Bavaria, demanded and received, in the name of that prince, the homage of the Romans. As soon as the pope recovered his liberty, saw the

the disorderly state of Rome, and the danger to which he was exposed, amidst the general anarchy now prevalent in Italy, he escaped, with his most valuable effects, on shipboard, went by the Tuscan sea to France, and resided at the court of Lewis, chiefly in Troyes, about a year¹.

A. D. 877¹

From the firm attachment which he had shewn to Lewis, in opposition to other pretenders, he hoped to secure his favour, and such aid and privileges as he was disposed to ask. He had no doubt, particularly, that he should prevail with him to march a powerful army into Italy, to reduce or disperse all his enemies, both foreign and domestic. He was received with all possible respect. He consecrated Lewis king of France, but reserved his unction as emperor, till he came personally to Rome.

He soon saw, however, with his own eyes, the insignificance of this fickle prince: that he was mild, indeed, and simple, but weak and inactive. Early, and contrary to his father's will, he had married Ansegarde, of a noble family in Brittany. At his father's desire, he repudiated her, and married Adelaide: but though earnestly solicited, the pope refused to crown her queen, considering her illegitimate, Ansegarde being probably still alive. He seems to have been determined in this refusal by Boson, duke of Lombardy and Provence, whose daughter

¹ Annal. Bertin. & Fuldenf. 877, 878.

A. D. 877. was betrothed to Carloman, son of Lewis by Ansegarde. Boson appeared to the pope the only person almost worthy of his respect in France, and the only one who could afford him protection, and a safe-conduct back to Italy and to Rome. Boson's sister was married to the late emperor Charles: he was himself married to Hermengarde, daughter of the emperor Lewis, and had been invested with the vice-royalty of Italy. These alliances and offices, and now his influence with the pope, inspired him with supreme ambition. He aimed, in the first place, at being king of Italy, and opposed an army, with this view, against the king of Bavaria; but being defeated and humbled, he was driven back within the confines of his government in France.

Treaty of
Foron, near
Aix-la-
Chapelle.

The only memorable act of Lewis, which affected the political state of France during his short reign of a year and a half, was the treaty of Foron. By that treaty he and his cousin Lewis, king of Germany, agreed to divide betwixt them the kingdom of Lorraine, in the same manner as Charles the Bald and Lewis his brother had done. They resolved to leave Italy undivided as it was, till a more favourable opportunity; and became bound, whoever survived the other, to guarantee the dominions of the deceased to his children^a.

Lewis II. died soon after this treaty, April A. D. 879, leaving two sons, Lewis and Carlo-

^a Annal. Bertin. 878. Act. Concil. Gallos.

man by Ansegarde, and a posthumous child, A. D. 879.
Charles the Simple, by Adelaide.

LEWIS III. and CARLOMAN.

Boson's relation to the young princes, and especially to Carloman, now married to his daughter, engaged him in their interest. Opposed to him, and influenced by motives of resentment and ambition, was the abbe Goselin, supported by Conrad count of Paris, who, with some others, invited Lewis, king of Germany, into France, to prevent, they said, all the evils of a minority, and to unite the kingdoms in one great empire.

The king of Germany possessed neither sufficient virtue to refuse this offer, which, by the treaty of Foron, he was bound to do, nor sufficient vigour to proceed with them in the execution to the full extent of their plan. He entered, at first, zealously into their views, assembled an army, and marched as far as Verdun. There he halted, till he felt the general pulse of the people. His expectations of welcome were probably disappointed: his soldiers became disorderly, plundered the country, and irritated the people. A negotiation was proposed by the opposite party, which the gentle-tempered Lewis preferred to war and bloodshed.

Goselin's
faction.

Boson acted, on this occasion, with great moderation. There is no doubt that he was
 VOL. II. G determined

A. D. 879. determined to resist the faction of Goselin; and such was the strength of his party, that he might have been able to repel the German army. But the question was, whether it was preferable to terminate the contest by force or by treaty. Rather than deluge the country with blood, and run the hazard finally of losing it all, he offered one-half of Lorraine to the king of Germany if he would now retire, and guarantee the remainder of France to his young friends, Lewis and Carloman. This offer was readily accepted, and the abbe Goselin and his faction were abandoned. They renewed their intreaties, indeed; and through the intercession of Lutgarde, Lewis's queen, they prevailed with him once more to march towards France. He only shewed his inconstancy and weakness. His brother's illness diverted him into Bavaria; and in the mean time, the loyalists increasing in numbers and courage, effected the coronation of Lewis and Carloman, the former of whom was now sixteen years of age.

Coronation
of the
princes.

Sensible, probably, of the inconveniency of dividing the kingdom, their father had disposed the whole to Lewis; but Boson persuaded their friends to grant a portion of it to Carloman his son-in-law. The difficulty of settling that share was the chief cause of so long delaying the coronation. Others proposed, at the same time, to assign some territory to Charles, the posthumous son of Lewis by Adelaide; but this proposal was over-ruled. The kingdom of Lewis extended from the Moselle to the Loire: Burgundy and Aquitaine were given to Carloman.

Provence,

Provence, Dauphiné, Savoy, Franche Comté, part of Burgundy, and Languedoc, were unappropriated in this division; being destined, by Boson's friends, as an independent sovereignty, of which he was to be the king. His pliant temper, his courteous manners, his activity, and plausible attentions to the interests of the young princes, and, generally, of the kingdom, rendered him popular, and highly respectable. His friends suggested every where, that the Carlovingian family were on the decline, incapable of either governing or defending their dominions: that the two princes, being amply provided in Neustria and Aquitain, needed some powerful friend, invested with sovereignty, to counsel and protect them: that Provence had formerly been an independent sovereignty, enjoyed laws and customs of its own, and ought now again to be erected into a separate kingdom: that it were more honourable, they said, to the clergy and nobles of these states, to confer royalty on some one worthy of their choice, than to bow before the throne of two inexperienced and feeble youths; and who was more worthy to receive that high honour from them than the illustrious Boson, brother-in-law of one emperor, son-in-law of another, and father-in-law to one of the reigning princes, and whose prudence, whose valour, whose mild and happy government they had already experienced in a subordinate capacity? In a word, that he was one of the most respectable of the nobles of France, highly favoured by the late emperor, and justly esteemed

A. D. 879.
Kingdom
of Pro-
vence.

A. D. 879. worthy of supreme power by the reigning pope. These arguments were accompanied, as circumstances required, with presents and intreaties, with promises and threatenings. In the assembly of Mante, in the territory of Vienne, Boson was unanimously elected king; and an address was immediately drawn up and sent to him, intreating him to accept of the kingdom of Provence.

Boson
elected
king of
Provence;
October,
A. D. 879.

The coronation of Boson roused the indignation of the ancient nobles and Carlovingian princes. Carloman, the king of Bavaria, having died of a palsy, without children, was succeeded by his brother Lewis, king of Germany: Arnulph, an illegitimate son, got Carinthia: and Charles the Fat, king of Alemagne, received Lombardy or Italy. These all united in a solemn league to dispossess Boson, to defend the empire against the Saracens and Normans, and to restore it to its former energy and splendour.

A. D. 880.

Animated by their common interest, and with the desire of military glory, they marched against the enemy, both foreign and domestic, and fought with various success; but in the course of two years they had neither expelled the Normans, nor made any deep impression on Provence.

Death of
Lewis.
A. D. 882.

Mean time Lewis king of Germany, and Lewis king of France, died without issue; the former A. D. 881, the latter in August A. D. 882.

882. Charles the Fat succeeded the one, and Carloman the other³. Carloman survived about two years, without performing any act, or occasioning any political change worthy of record, and died of a wound which he received by accident in hunting.

A. D. 882.

Death of
Carloman.
A. D. 884.

CHARLES III. THE FAT.

Charles III., who now succeeded to the empire of France and Germany, and was consecrated emperor by the pope, reigned hitherto in Allemagne, little known from the time of his father's death. His temper and talents were more suited to a private than a public station. His imbecillity became more conspicuous by his advancement. With even moderate abilities he might have united the vast force of the empire, crushed his domestic, and expelled his foreign, foes; but, weak and cowardly, he avoided the very appearance of personal danger, and was incapable of any exertion, calculated either to encourage his subjects, or to resist and scatter his enemies.

France had little or no intercourse, at this time, with the other kingdoms of Europe. Alfred was sufficiently occupied with compacting and improving his own kingdom, England: Scotland had to contend with the Danes and

³ The Annales Bertin. end with this year 882. The want of them is the more felt, that they contained more, both facts and observations, than those of Metz and Fulda.

A. D. 884. Irish: Spain was agitated by the wars of the Moors and Christians. Under Alphonso the Great, the latter were rapidly extending their dominions. All the kingdoms of Europe, in their turn, whose rivers rendered them accessible from the ocean, were visited and distressed by the plundering fleets of the Normans.

The Normans.

They had insulted the coasts of France, even under the government of Charlemagne; and since that time, every year their daring invasions formed a large article in the ancient chronicles of that country: now they filled its rivers on every side with their fleets, levied great contributions from its timid inhabitants and despicable monarchs, and were only encouraged by the vast spoil or ransom which they received on quitting one river to sail up another.

They obtained their name from their northern situation on the globe. The ancient Scandinavia, including Denmark, was their native country. Their residence on the coasts of the German and Baltic seas accustomed them, from their infancy, to handle the oar and to trim the sails. Their large forests supplied them with abundance of timber to build their barques. They had no arts nor manufactures to occupy them at home, proportioned to the increase of their population. Their climate rendered them hardy: experience and success made them brave, skilful, and enterprising. Like their more eastern countrymen, who invaded the Roman empire, they poured from their cold and barren regions along the coasts of the warmer
and

and more fertile kingdoms of Europe, procured their subsistence and wealth by plunder and violence, and seemed more intent on the spoil which they carried home to their native country, than on colonising or securing a settled and more favourable residence. Each of their barques, or large boats, (for ships they can scarcely be called,) might contain from fifty to one hundred and fifty men, with their provisions of bread, water, probably some beer, common among all the northern nations, cheese, and as much flesh as they could procure or preserve. A. D. 884.

In the year 864 they sailed up the Rhine as far as Cologne, slaughtered many of the inhabitants, burnt their towns, and having robbed the country of its cattle and other property, of their own accord retired.

Next year they penetrated by the Loire into the very heart of France, beyond Orleans; plundering and burning cities and villages, churches and monasteries, as they ascended and descended the river.

Four years after, Charles the Bald paid them four thousand pounds weight of silver to leave the kingdom. This sum he levied by two instalments, and at rates proportioned somewhat to the rank of the nobles, clergy, merchants, freemen, and slaves⁴.

In

⁴ Karolus, A. D. 869, cum Nortmannis in quatuor millium libris argenti ad pensam eorum paciscitur: & indicta per regnum suum collectione ad idem exsolvendum

A. D. 884.

In the following years they ravaged the kingdom in every direction; but chiefly by the Scheldt, the Somme, the Seine, and the Loire. In one battle, which they fought with the French army under Carloman A. D. 883, a thousand of them were slain; but instead of being intimidated, they seemed rather to increase in number and violence. They slaughtered the peaceable inhabitants, or carried them captives, burnt the churches, ruined the cities. On their departure, the streets were covered with the dead bodies of nobles, clergy, women, youths, and infants. Every road over the country was strewed with corpses. Terror seized the surviving inhabitants. An assembly being held, to deliberate on the means of their common safety, they sent a Dane, who had been converted to Christianity and naturalized in France, to treat with his countrymen, and to purchase peace at any price. With much difficulty and delay he prevailed with them for twelve thousand pounds of silver, (for which hostages were given till pay-

dum tributum: de unoquoque manso ingenuili exiguntur sex denarii, & de servili tres, & de accolis unus, & de hospitibus duobus unus, & decima de omnibus quæ negotiatores videbantur habere. Sed & a presbyteris secundum quod unusquisque habuit vestigal exigitur, & herbanni de omnibus Francis accipiuntur. Inde de unoquoque manso tam ingenuili, quam et servili unus denarius sumitur. Et demum per duas vices juxta quod unusquisque regni primorum de honoribus habuit conjectum tam in argento, quam in vino ad pensum quod ipsis Nortmannis pactum fuerat persolvendum contulit.

Chronicon de Nortmanni Gestis apud Duchesne.

ment,)

ment;) to grant a peace, and to leave the kingdom'. A. D. 884.

It would be endless to enumerate all the expeditions, and to describe all the devastations, of these barbarous invaders in France; but it seems interesting to enquire into the causes of the frequency and success of their invasions.

The first and most obvious arises from the severity of their climate, and poverty of their country. A warm climate generally produces abundance, without much care, for its inhabitants, however numerous; it relaxes, at the same time, and disqualifies them for much labour and great enterprise; while a cold region braces the animal frame, disposes it to activity, renders the habit of early industry necessary, is favourable to the propagation of a healthy race, and furnishes but a scanty provision for their subsistence. The hardy sons of Norway and Denmark from their infancy were accustomed to hardships, were trained to the oar, and inured to the tempest. They multiplied in greater

*Causes of
the success
of the
Normans.*

⁵ Chron. de Nortmanni Gestis apud Duchesne, A. D.

83.

Lewis the Mild, from religious zeal, invited the Normans into France for the purpose of converting and baptizing them. Multitudes, accordingly, arrived every year at Easter. Their number, on one occasion, was so great, that proper baptismal garments could hardly be procured for them all. Some of them were affronted; and a Norman lord declared with indignation, that this was the twentieth time he had been baptised, and was never so ill-suited.

St. Gall apud Duchesne, tom. ii. p. 134.

numbers

A. D. 884. numbers than could be easily maintained. From their fishing stations they were led by accident, by curiosity, by hunger, by the love of enterprise, to explore the neighbouring coasts, and to return loaded, sometimes with plunder instead of fish. One successful expedition was enough to inflame thousands with a spirit of adventure. This may account generally for the multitudes which poured, for several ages, by sea and land, from the cold and barren regions of the north, over the warmer and more fertile kingdoms of Europe.

The state of Denmark, it has been suggested, was, peculiarly favourable for such expeditions and emigrations about the middle of the ninth century. Gudurm, nephew of Horric, the king of that country, pretended a right to the crown; but being defeated, fled with his followers into voluntary banishment. They escaped in different parties, but joined occasionally in their piracies and predatory invasions*.

Their rude and barbarous appearance, their hardihood and courage, intimidated the more relaxed and feeble inhabitants of the southern coasts. A few bold acts and unusual cruelties terrified the unwarlike natives on the mouths of the Somme, the Seine, and the Loire: the alarm spread over the interior country; and the people, on the first appearance of the enemy, were prepared to fly.

* Mem. de l'Acad. tom. xvii. p. 280.

The Norman mode of warfare contributed to their success. They do not seem to have entertained any idea or plan of conquest and settlement. Hence they never weakened their number by detachments, by seizing and occupying strong holds. They scoured the banks of the rivers: they fortified themselves in the most inaccessible islands; but they never lost sight of their ships. Sometimes they hazarded fierce and bloody encounters on land; yet more generally they sought refuge, whenever danger appeared, in their numerous ships. In these, or on the islands which they occupied, they waited, till they understood that the king and his army were withdrawn from that region, or that the nobles were engaged in private animosities and wars. Then they sprung like the famished lion to the prey. They became even acquainted with horsemanship; and were prepared, after many years, to contend with the French cavalry in their own kind of warfare ¹.

A. D. 884.

The sons of Lewis the Mild were sometimes so determined against one another, and so unwise as to invite and hire these common enemies of their country against one another. The haughty nobles imitated these princes in their mutual jealousies and private wars, or more open rebellions. The Bretons engaged the Normans as auxiliaries against Charles the Bald; and Pepin his nephew, mad with the ambition of reigning in Aquitain, hired and headed these

¹ Adrevald. de Miraculis S. Benedicti. Chronic. Monast. Beuenf. Hist. Nortm. Duchesne.

desperate

A. D. 824. desperate plunderers against his friends and native country. When other spoil and rewards failed, or were less acceptable, these northern rovers were gratified with a residence and property in some of the best cities of the kingdom*.

The battle of Fontenoy certainly weakened the power of France, so as to render it more easily invaded. The loss of a hundred thousand warriors, the flower of the youth and nobles of France, seems to have not merely diminished the force of the empire, but the courage of the people.

The ambition, jealousy, and pride of the surviving barons generally prevented their co-operation and zeal against the common enemies. Some of them thought their services insufficiently rewarded; some were envious of the superior recompences conferred on others; and some, seizing by force or fraud what they had no hope of obtaining by fair means, became reserved and distant through fear of resentment. The disunion occasioned by these causes was increased by the jealousy or pride of the great lords, who were pleased to see the crown humbled, and dependent on them. They were secretly not ill-pleased at the formidable incursions of the barbarians, which kept the king in awe, and prevented him from chastising their disorders and incroachments, and from displacing some of them from those offices and

* Annal. Bertin. 853-4.

governments which they held only by suffer- A. D. 884.
 ance*.

The first attempts of the Normans were timid, and after considerable intervals. They visited the coasts only, or ventured but a little way within the mouths of the great rivers. They gradually discerned the character of the French people, and observed the distracted and defenceless state of their country. Every time they tasted its wealth, they desired to enjoy it the more. It became a trade, by which every youth, possessing the least degree of courage and enterprise, might ensure his fortune. They gradually explored the inland provinces, and feared not to visit any monastery, village, or city, where they were sure of obtaining plunder almost with impunity. If any great army appeared, or unusual obstacle to their depredations occurred, they learned to unite their different parties in the common cause. The party on the Seine, A. D. 885, having determined to penetrate into the country beyond Paris, at first requested the permission of the governor; and being refused, they invited their countrymen on the Oise to come and join in the daring enterprise of besieging that ancient city.

Siege of
 Paris.
 A. D. 885.

They amounted to about forty thousand, under the command of Sigefrid, a man of low artifice, and of a fierce temper; by no means destitute of natural sagacity, and of such mili-

* Capitul. Carol. Duchesne, tom. ii. p. 426. tom. iii. p. 426.

A. D. 885. tary skill as might be expected in those times, capable of executing his plans either slowly and by stratagem, or with promptitude and impetuosity.

Ancient
state of that
city.

Paris, even at this time, must have been a considerable city. Nine centuries nearly before this, Julius Cæsar describes it as a place of some note; as not merely central, and convenient, on that account, for holding a general assembly of the people of the neighbouring provinces, but capable of affording accommodation to the multitude which usually attended on such an occasion¹⁰. He represents it as situated on an island, and inaccessible, on account of marshes, to the troops which Labienus, his lieutenant, attempted to introduce into it. He tried to drive a mound or dyke through the marsh; but finding that impracticable, he marched under the cover of night to Melun; and having got possession of that city, he embarked his troops, and floated them down the river to Paris. But the Parisians, timeously informed of his design, burnt and abandoned their town and island, cut down their bridges leading to it, and retiring by some way through the marsh familiar to them though unknown to the enemy, encamped again beyond his reach. Hence it appears that Paris was then confined to the island, and that the houses were chiefly of wood¹¹.

It was rebuilt, and much improved, under the dominion of the Romans. The emperor

¹⁰ Cæsar, lib. vi. 3.

¹¹ Lib. vii. 54.

Julian

Julian preferred it as the place of his ordinary residence. It began then to extend its buildings on both sides of the river, and was of such consequence after the reign of Clovis, that his grandsons, on dividing the kingdom, agreed to leave Paris neutral; binding themselves by the most solemn treaty, that he who entered it without the consent of the rest, should forfeit his right to any share in its privileges and government. Soon after it became the metropolis of Neustria, or of the kingdom of France. Its fairs, and especially the fair of St. Denis, were much frequented by merchants. It was the ordinary residence of Lewis the Mild, full of people, and stored with all kinds of provisions and merchandize; but under his son, Charles the Bald, it is represented as once eminent in wealth and majesty, then as recently plundered and burnt by the barbarians¹².

It seems to have recovered its former splendor, when the Normans now prepared to besiege it¹³. Two wooden bridges formed a communication

¹² "Parisiſorum civitas ut ſedes regia conſtituta populiſ, reſerta commerciis, ac variis comœatibus." Hilduini Areopag.

"Quid Lutetia Pariſiorum, nobile caput reſplendens quondam gloria, opibus, fertilitate ſoli, incolarum quietiſſimâ pace, quam non immerito regum divitias, & emporium populorum dixerò ! Num magis ambuſtoſ cineres quam urbem nobilem potis eſt cernere !" Adrevald. Lib. de Miracul. Sancti Bened.

¹³ "Medis Sequanzæ recubans culti quoque regni Franigenum temet ſtatuiſ, præcelſa, canendo, Sum poliſ, ut regina micans omnes ſuper urbes, "Quæ

A. D. 885. nication with its suburbs, (if the few houses on the south and north banks of the river deserve that name,) and served, at the same time, as a defence of the river. The north bridge was defended on the land by a tower, scarcely finished, near the spot where the Grand Chatelet was afterwards erected; and the south bridge was in like manner defended on the land by a tower, near the site of the Petit Chatelet.

The principal defence of the city, however, was the courage and perseverance of its inhabitants. Eudes, son of Robert the Strong, said to be a descendant of Charles Martel, the count and governor of the city, inherited his father's prudence, by which he regulated; and his spirit, intrepidity, and valour, with which he animated and supported his fellow-citizens. Goselin, the bishop of the city, employed the influence of religion, and of true patriotism, in seconding and promoting the governor's plans and operations. He exemplified the courage and activity which he recommended. A helmet occupied the place of the mitre: a quiver filled with arrows hung from his shoulder, and an axe from his girdle.

"Quæ statione nites cunctis venerabiliori

"Quisqûe cupiscit opes Francorum, te veneratur."

Abbonis Monachi de Bellis Paris. lib. i.

To this hexameter poem, in three books, and in a rude, sometimes unintelligible style, we are indebted for the history of the siege of Paris. The author was an eye-witness of the siege, and dedicated his poem to Goselin, the bishop and brave defender of his episcopal city.

Thus

Thus accoutred, he every day exposed himself to the assailants, sharing those hardships and dangers which he taught others to endure in the defence of religion and liberty. A. D. 885.

On the second day of the siege, Sigefrid, the nominal king of the Normans, considering Gofelin as the principal personage of the city, or as possessing the most influence, proposed a conference with him, and was admitted into the city for that purpose. Shewing a decent respect for the venerable priest, he bowed to him, and thus addressed him: "Have compassion on yourself, Gofelin, and on your people: grant us only a passage along the river: we mean not to touch your city; but if you deny my request, all of you shall perish."

"The city," the bishop as shortly replied, "is entrusted by our king and country to our fidelity and courage, and we are determined to be valiant and faithful. You would do the same, I am persuaded, were you in our situation."

Disappointed and enraged, Sigefrid retired, declaring that next day he should enter the city by force of arms, and put all to the sword.

A minute description of this siege would be extremely tedious. The science of fortification, of attack and defence, was then, comparatively, little known. Much bravery and perseverance were displayed on both sides; but their arms, their engines, and the art of war in general, were

A. D. 885. rude and impotent. The sling and the bow were the only offensive weapons which either the French or Normans employed at a distance. The latter were also acquainted with the ballista, for throwing large stones against walls, with the battering-ram, and with the construction of galleries, under the cover of which they wrought these engines, or approached the very foundation of walls and towers, to demolish or undermine them.

November,
A. D. 886.

The day after the conference, Sigefrid advanced his barques and army towards the city, and, as he threatened, began the attack. The north bridge being the main entrance into Paris, as well as the great obstacle to his projected voyage up the river, he proposed first to reduce the great tower which commanded it, and transported thither, for that purpose, all those engines which he judged necessary for that service. In this attack, the wooden being the highest part of the tower, was considerably damaged. Many on both sides were killed and wounded. Among the latter was the venerable bishop Goselin. By the ingenuity of Eudes, and by the activity of his men, the tower was repaired during the night, and ready for enduring another assault, which was made with increased violence and fury next day. The defence from within was valiant: the men remained immovable at their quarters, incessantly galling, and often repelling, the enemy by their missile weapons. They broke with beams and stones their covered galleries: they poured boiling pitch on them through such apertures as they made.

The

The loss sustained by the assailants was very great. They succeeded, however, in making a considerable breach in the tower, and hoped soon to enter by it triumphantly into the city. But neither their valour nor violence, the force of their engines, nor the vast fire of combustible matter which they kindled at the foot of the tower, was effectual against the vigilance, the skill, and intrepidity of the besieged. The enemy, exhausted with exertion, found it necessary to retire to rest his troops; and, as the siege was likely to be a work of time, to send parties of them, in different directions, to forage and plunder.

A. D. 886.

They desolated the country: they strewed it with the dead bodies of all ranks, ages, and sexes: they excited general horror and consternation; but they abated not the spirit, nor diminished the resolution of the citizens of Paris. Undismayed, they saw them advance to a second assault, in which they proposed, at the same instant, to attack the tower, the bridge, and the city. The tower was their main object. A thousand men were destined to that hazardous service. They filled the trench before the tower with the dead carcases of horses and cattle: the captives of the plundering parties were butchered in the view of the besieged, and thrown into the trench amidst these animal carcases. Having done every thing to excite horror, or to move compassion, and filled the trench to render it passable, these chosen troops approached the tower with their galleries and three battering-rams; one to play against each

Second assault.

H 2

of

A. D. 886.

of the three accessible sides of the square edifice. The besieged, on the other hand, contrived an engine, consisting chiefly of a long and heavy beam pointed with iron, which they plunged perpendicularly and forcibly on the galleries; and wherever they pierced or broke them, they immediately poured boiling pitch, and hurled large stones and other destructive and offensive materials, with such effect, that the enemy retreated, and abandoned the tower.

His attempt to burn the bridge, and so to cut off the communication betwixt the tower and the city, proved as unsuccessful. The wind or the current of the water drove their fire-ships, which in those days they conducted with no great dexterity, into a situation easily accessible to the besieged; the fire was extinguished by them, and the vessels carried in triumph within the city ¹⁴.

South
tower.
January,
A. D. 887.

These failures, so discouraging to the assailants, animated the Parisians. They hoped soon to see the enemy retire, dejected and vanquished. But the elements of nature, which so lately favoured them, now became adverse. In the beginning of February, a flood in the river carried away the south bridge, leaving the small south tower, with a guard of only twelve men; but

February.

¹⁴ This effect of the wind and water was ascribed to St. Germain, whom the Parisians, in awful apprehension, had fervently invoked. Abbon. Monach. de Bellis Paris. lib. i.

Pere Daniel believed it. Tom. ii. p. 185.

they

A. D. 887.

they were men of the most deliberate and determined courage. Their insulated and forlorn situation was no sooner observed by the enemy, than he detached a force in boats, sufficient to take or destroy them. For some time these heroes defended themselves and their fort, till it was set on fire. The flames then drove them to the wreck of the bridge, betwixt it and the river. There it was impossible to remain. They surrendered themselves, on condition that their lives should be spared. The faithless enemy promised; but as soon as they were in his power, he butchered them in cold blood, and threw them into the river.

The siege continued till the following winter. Various unsuccessful attempts were made, during that time, against the city, both by treachery and force. As the defence of the city seemed to depend so much on the wisdom and valour of its governor, Sigefrid proposed a conference with him beyond the trenches, hoping with his life to terminate their labours. Eudes ventured without the trenches, but soon observed the Normans thronging around him, and preparing to obstruct his return. He sprang from the conference, and reached his own men.

The length of the siege disheartened the Normans, Many of them, and among the rest their leader, began to think their time and labour lost; for they had neither yet made any impression on the city, nor been able to prevent reinforcements and provisions from being thrown

Sigefrid retires, and is assassinated.

A. D. 887.

into it. Dissensions arose in the camp, and Sigefrid, with those of his opinion, withdrew. He was, not long after, assassinated in Friesland; but the great body of the army remained, and persisted with obstinacy in the blockade. They cut off a detachment under count Henry of Saxony, and killed that valiant general while he was reconnoitring. In a general assault they scaled the bridge, and even the walls, and were prevented from entering the city by the intrepidity of one faithful soldier, who persuaded five more that they only (for no more were near) were a match for the assailants. They instantly darted on those who had got upon the wall, slew them, overturned others as they ascended, and dismounted the scaling-ladders. When the tower was almost carried by a furious assault, the cross was planted by a bold fellow on the trench, the gate of the tower was thrown open, and the enemy were driven with great slaughter to their camp.

Charles,
emperor,
appears.

During the whole length of this siege the emperor is almost never heard of. He was by no means fond of exposing himself to danger. The state of Italy and Germany required his presence. Besides, he was unpopular, and even hated: his authority was disregarded; his commands were neglected. He was unable to assemble a sufficient body of troops for him to lead against the besiegers of Paris. The reinforcements procured were obtained by the personal influence chiefly of Eudes and Henry.

Henry,

Henry, duke or count of Saxony, half-brother of Eudes, and one of his best generals, being killed, and his army dispersed, it became necessary for Charles, either to abandon the first city of his dominions, and all the adjacent country, to the enemy; or that he should make one great exertion to repel them. He raised a great army¹⁵: he encamped in view of the city and of the enemy, on Montmatre. Instead of going directly against the besiegers, he thought the sight of him, and of such an army at that distance, was to dismay them, and put them to flight. He was amazed to see them unmoved, and did not venture to approach them. They knew the temper of this leader: they were not afraid of an enemy, who, though superior in numbers, kept so cautiously at a distance; and they had become ambitious to conquer Paris and all the surrounding country, and to occupy it as a permanent residence and sovereignty.

Though they feared not the emperor and his army, they began, however, to despair of their success against Paris. Their number was reduced: their leaders were not unanimous: their most strenuous exertions had failed, when they were more powerful and sanguine. A more active and bold general than the emperor might be placed at the head of the French, who being so numerous and near them might catch the spirit of the brave defenders of Paris, and storm with ease the Norman camp. In these circum-

The emperor treats with the enemy.

¹⁵ Reginon calls them "immenso exercitu."

A. D. 887. stances, they gladly accepted the terms offered to them by a coward. The emperor engaged to pay them seven hundred pounds weight of silver if they would relinquish the siege, and retire from Paris. They readily consented to march into the country about Sens till the month of March, when the money was to be paid them.

But the manner in which they were to reach that country was attended with difficulty. The high-spirited and noble defenders of Paris, who heard with indignation the terms of the treaty, would not allow the enemy to sail past their city, nor to come within two miles of it. The attempt roused anew their heroic spirit. Many of the Normans were killed in their foremost ships, in the effort to force a passage. When the barbarians found that impracticable, they actually hauled their fleet, consisting of between seven and eight hundred barques, out of the water, across the country, from the river below Paris, to the same river about two miles above it, whence they proceeded again by water towards Sens¹⁶.

¹⁶ The chronology of this siege seems inexplicable. The authors of the ancient Chronicles do not agree when it began, nor how long it lasted. We apply to Abbo's poem in vain for assistance. They all nearly agree, however, in this, that the emperor's treaty with the enemy took place in November A. D. 887, and that the siege had lasted at least one whole year.

Compare *Annal. Fuldenfes, Metenfes. Chronicon de Nortman. Geltis. Chronic. Regino. Afferi Fragmentum ex Vit. Ælfredi. Duchesne, tom. ii. p. 499.*

This treaty with the Normans rendered Charles altogether contemptible. His ministers abused his confidence: his nobles despised, maltreated, and deserted him. The empress, who seems to have had little or no converse with him, retired into a monastery. He was not insensible of his condition; and the anxiety occasioned by it brought on probably that malady in his head, which still more debilitated both body and mind, and issued finally in his death. A. D. 887.

Meantime the nobles, both in France and Germany, took the alarm, from the prevalence of intestine divisions, and the bold intrusion of a foreign enemy into the very heart of the empire: Sensible of the incapacity of Charles, they agreed to dethrone him; which was easily accomplished. He was immediately deserted. He would have been destitute of the very necessities of life; but Arnulf, who ascended the throne in Germany, assigned him a small territory within his dominions, sufficient to supply him with the means of subsistence. He died in the month of January. Death of Charles the Fat.
A. D. 888.

The author of the Annals of Metz praises him much as a man of piety and virtue; and then adds the following just observations on the state of the kingdom: "After whose death, the kingdoms which were subject to his power, as destitute of a legitimate and lineal heir to unite them, fell into pieces, and occasioned violent commotions. Not that there were wanting princes, noble, brave, and wise, to govern them; but their very equality, both in respect
" of

A. D. 888. “ of their mental power and external rank, was
 “ the great cause of their discord ; no one sufficiently
 “ excellently excelling another, to constitute the title
 “ of his authority, or of general submission to
 “ him. The circumstances which might have
 “ qualified any of them for reigning with success,
 “ armed them all against one another, and
 “ against the common interests of the empire.”

From this account, the whole empire consisted of separate cantons, or almost independent sovereignties, without number, nominally confederated, yet seldom co-operating towards one end. Each converted his mansion-house into a castle, where, surrounded with his vassals over the adjacent territories, he lived secure ; or in case of alarm, by the sound of the horn or trumpet summoned his vassals to war.

EUDES King of France. ARNULF of Germany.

In the month of November preceding the death of Charles, the meeting of the states, called at Tribur by that prince who dethroned him, invited and exalted Arnulf, an illegitimate son of Carloman, the son of Lewis the Germanic, to the throne of Germany. His accession and reign were harmonious and prosperous.

Italy was deluged with blood. Berenger duke of Friuli, and Wido, or Guido, duke of Spolitto, both great-grandsons of Charlemagne, pretended an equal right to the crown, and possessed

possessed nearly an equal power to secure it. The latter was successful, and for some time drove the former out of the kingdom. A. D. 888.

Burgundy asserted its independence, and placed Ralph as sovereign on the throne.

The young prince, son of Boson king of Provence, or Arles, whom the late emperor Charles in his imbecillity adopted, ascended the throne of that kingdom.

Britanny submitted to the sovereignty of Alain, first the rival, and then the colleague of Judicaël. On the death of the latter in an attack on the Normans, the former obtained the sole government of that extensive and war-like province.

Eudes, or Odo, was unanimously chosen king of France. He was said to be a descendant of Charles Martel. His father was a distinguished and prudent warrior; and Eudes had rendered himself extremely popular by his military and heroic conduct during the siege of Paris. He was already in possession of the government of the two extensive and powerful counties of Orleans and of Burgundy west of the Rhone, and of the city of Paris. Tall and handsome, active and experienced in war, he was generally respected and esteemed over France.

In the assembly which elected him, he protested that Lewis the Stammerer had appointed him tutor to his posthumous son Charles, afterwards

A. D. 888. wards called the Simple: that he accepted of the crown, therefore, and of the title of king, in trust for that prince, till he should attain a mature age. He sent an embassy with the same declaration to Arnulf, king of Germany, who, though illegitimate, had a preferable right, as the direct lineal descendant of Charlemagne, to the crown of France. He waited on him at Worms, laid all the ensigns of royalty at his feet, and protested in the most solemn manner, that he would not assume them, even in trust, without his consent. The king of Germany, the assembly at Worms, the nobles and people of France, were all charmed with these expressions of condescension and integrity¹⁷.

He was crowned by Walter, archbishop of Sens. He arranged the affairs of government with wisdom and general approbation: he marched against the Normans with skill and great success. With about a thousand cavalry he attacked nineteen thousand of them, and by his impetuosity and courage defeated and dispersed them. This revived the hopes of the French, long dispirited by the superiority of these barbarians. The city of Meaux had surrendered to them while he was necessarily occupied in Aquitain. He returned in time to save Paris; but they were become so numerous, and had acquired such a footing in France, as baffled all his skill and prowess.

¹⁷ Annal. Fuld. ad Ann. 888. Fragment. Hist. Francor. a Lewis II. ad Hug. Capet. Duchesne.

The cordial union of Germany under Arnulf, enabled that prince to triumph over the Normans. In one engagement he totally defeated and slaughtered a great army of them; with two of their kings, and took sixteen royal standards ¹⁸. A. D. 883.

But in France, the popularity of Eudes was succeeded by jealousy. The Normans were plainly the more daring and successful, that the spirit and valour of the king were not duly seconded by the envious and haughty nobles. Impatient of subordination, they chose rather to flee before a foreign and common enemy, than gratify and protect one another—than yield obedience to the summons and authority of that sovereign so lately their equal, and whom they had rendered their superior only by a temporary submission and acquiescence. For some time, indeed, they had been accustomed to pay little respect to princes, so generally incapable of exercising with dignity, and maintaining with due authority, the royal prerogative. Their veneration for the family of Charlemagne was much abated; and therefore it was owing, not so much to their attachment to Charles the Simple, as to their envy and resentment of the rank and power of Eudes, that they began to put him in mind of his coronation engagements, and of his wardship of Charles. Eudes, however, was not so willing now to relinquish his trust, his rank, and power, as he

Charles IV.
the Simple.
July,
A. D. 892.

¹⁸ Annal. Fuld. Abbon. Monach. lib. ii. vers. finem. Chron. de Nortman. Gestis.

A. D. 892. professed to be at his election. He sacrificed some of the most forward of the conspirators; but this inflamed the more the zeal of the rest. All Neustria, moved as with one spirit, rose against Eudes, wrested the sceptre from his reluctant hand, and enthroned Charles.

SECT. IV.

*The History of France under CHARLES IV. the Simple,
King of France.*

CHARLES IV. was formally crowned; but having no army, and little authority, he resorted to the aid of his relation Arnulf, the king of Germany. His friend, the archbishop of Rheims, wrote in his behalf, that there was no doubt of his right by birth to the crown of France: that this had been admitted by Eudes, when he accepted of the crown in trust for him, as committed to him, first by Lewis on his death-bed, and again by the assembly of Compiègne, which elected him: that it was now time to convey that trust to its rightful owner: that the states of France were of that opinion: and that it seemed the interest and duty of Arnulf to protect and vindicate his oppressed relation.

But Eudes had prejudiced Arnulf, and rendered ineffectual this first application. A second letter, however, succeeded; in which was represented the deplorable state of the kingdom, through

through the numerous jealousies, rivalships, and animosities of the nobles, all equally determined to rend the kingdom in pieces rather than submit to Eudes.

A. D. 892.

Arnulf invited Charles, now about fourteen years of age, to a diet which he was to hold at Worms; and in presence of that assembly he acknowledged him his relation, and, by right of birth, the king of France. He promised to support him against the usurper, and forthwith summoned his great vassals on the frontiers of Germany, to be ready with their troops to attend him into France.

But Eudes, who understood the intentions of the king of Germany on Italy, knew that he must soon turn his attention to that quarter, and would not willingly lose much time, nor spill any of the blood of his army in France. He was satisfied, therefore, that his interest lay in avoiding an engagement with troops who must soon be recalled, and whose impatience of war, without hope of either conquest or plunder, would itself repress their zeal, and frustrate the design of their mission. The event answered his expectation. In a short time he had the satisfaction to see the enemy separating and retiring, and Arnulf too much occupied with the embroiled state of his own affairs in both Germany and Italy, to allow of any effectual aid to Charles. At a personal interview afterwards, Eudes had the address to prevail with Arnulf to abandon his young friend altogether.

Arnulf

A. D. 892.

Arnulf was now bent on the conquest of Italy, and he succeeded even beyond his expectation. He subdued Lombardy: he took Rome by assault: he liberated the pope Formosus, who had been arrested by the citizens on suspicion of his attachment to the king of Germany: he was solemnly consecrated, and crowned emperor by that pope; but he was soon after seized with a paralytic disorder, which obliged him to return to Bavaria, and to allow the various competitors for the sovereignty of Italy to invade and ravage that distracted country.

Meantime an accommodation took place in France betwixt Eudes and Charles. The former was persuaded, particularly by the archbishop of Rheims, to remember his solemn protestations and engagements. He was the more readily persuaded, that he had reason to apprehend, as appears from the letters of that same prelate, that Charles was entertaining the dangerous purpose of uniting his interests with those of the Normans against him*.

Death of
Eudes.

He agreed to cede to Charles all Neustria north-east of the Seine; and to hold what he retained on the south and west of that river, as one of the vassals of the crown. His death, however, which followed about a year after, left the young prince in full possession of the kingdom.

* Flodoard. Hist. Eccles. in Biblioth. Patrum, tom. ii. p. 728.

That

A. D. 892.

That kingdom was sufficiently extensive, but the power which it conferred was very small: every baron claiming and asserting his independence; every governor of a province or city, nominally dependent on the king, was sovereign more in fact than he. They obeyed his summons or not as they chose, and could no longer be removed at pleasure from their offices or benefices. Inferior vassals were bound, on pain of forfeiture, to obey the mandates of their lord, even against the king; but the king was not able to compel his vassals, generally as great and powerful as himself, to regard his authority. They made war as they pleased against one another, and could seize the escheated property of their disobedient vassals, almost always, without reference or appeal; but he, without power to enforce the laws of the kingdom, yet dared seldom to transgress them, through the fear of general offence; and was under the necessity, in every great measure, to consult the views and humours of his haughty barons. Such was the state of the kingdom when Rollo, duke or prince of Denmark, entered France.

Majestic in his person and of a heroic spirit, his temper was mild, and his manners were gentle. He was the son of a Danish prince, who was proprietor of an independent territory, and sovereign of his own domain. On the death of his father, the king of Denmark proposed to subject Rollo and his property to the crown. To this the high-spirited prince could not submit; and in resisting the unjust encroachment

Rollo
prince of
Denmark

A. D. 892. on his legal patrimony, he lost many of his nearest friends, was driven from his inheritance, and rendered an outcast on the earth. His amiable and princely qualities, his misfortunes, and the fame of his martial genius and exploits, gained him the admiration, the esteem, and steady attachment of many of his countrymen. He was advised to attempt some foreign enterprise; and he no sooner seriously proposed it, than thousands flocked to his standard, assured of wealth and honour under a leader so interesting and renowned.

With a numerous army he sailed first for England, where he collected much booty, but could procure no settlement. He turned then to France, and became successively the scourge and terror of its different coasts and rivers, penetrating sometimes even to the heart of the kingdom. Nantes, Angers, Mans, Clermont, were pillaged by him. The tedious siege and obstinate resistance of the city of Chartres contributed only to inflame the rage of his army against the surrounding country. Agriculture and all improvement ceased. The bravest and most powerful barons were dismayed. They were desirous of peace almost on any terms. In an assembly convened to deliberate on the state of the nation, they commissioned the archbishop of Rouen to solicit a conference with Rollo, and to obtain a truce, until the terms should be agreed on of a durable peace.

The

The truce was granted, and a peace was concluded on the following terms: That the western district of Neustria, a part of which from the Normans has since been called Normandy, should be feudally ceded to them: that the king's daughter, Giselle, should be given to Rollo in marriage: and that the Norman colonists should become Christians.

A. D. 911.
obtains
Normandy.
A. D. 911.

As Normandy, however, was to be held by him as a fief of the crown, in which case it was necessary for him to take the oath of fidelity to the king as his liege lord, there was no small difficulty in adjusting the ceremony deemed essential on that occasion. Rollo refused to kneel before the king, to put his hands between those of Charles, and to kiss his foot. He would only consent that one of his officers might do it in his name. This being agreed to, the officer decently performed the other parts of the ceremony; but, instead of stooping towards the royal foot, he rudely raised it towards him, and overset the monarch. The insult was felt, but was tamely interpreted as an accident, and with more than usual good temper was turned into a subject of pleasantries*.

In other things Rollo and his Normans appeared sufficiently disposed to comply with the French customs and manners. Many of them, by means of the prisoners carried into Denmark, had there already become acquainted

* Dudo de Vit. & Ast. primor. Normannix Ducum, lib. ii.

A. D. 911. with the doctrines of the gospel. All shewed a willingness to receive instruction, to profess the Christian faith, and to receive the ordinance of baptism. The territory now conferred on them was parcelled out on the army, according to their various ranks and merits, and according to the feudal spirit and rules now prevalent in France. All were to hold their lands and offices respectively in subordination to their superiors, under Rollo, whose lord paramount was the king. From him as the stem, and so from each of the great vassals, the tree political branched out into innumerable subordinate ramifications. Every one depended on another. All were attached together by means of strict regulations and penalties. When such a government was duly arranged, and firmly compacted by steady authority, the simple command of the lord paramount pervaded the whole body, and readily moved it whithersoever he would.

Rollo, who at his baptism received the name of his godfather Robert, the brother and feudal successor of Eudes, acquired a fame, by his justice, generosity, and piety, equal to that which he had secured by his valour. He was courted by the clergy, and he made large donations of lands to the churches and monasteries within his duchy. He rebuilt or repaired those which the ravages of war had injured or ruined; he instituted the most prudent and effectual laws against robbery, and other public disorders and violence; insomuch that jewels of gold are said to have hung for years on trees, openly, untouched.

untouched. Every thing flourished under his government: the cities were rebuilt: the fortifications or castles were repaired: agriculture was encouraged: the population of the country increased; and provisions of all kinds abounded.

A. D. 912

But he is said to have maltreated his wife Giselle, and to have beheaded two commissioners whom the king sent to complain of his conduct towards her, which proved the cause of her death. All this, however, the monarch of France was obliged to bear with patience. He wanted energy himself, and he was incapable of conciliating the friendship, and of uniting the exertions, of his factious barons.

After various struggles and changes, the detail of which does not belong to this History, Berenger, duke of Frivoli, obtained the kingdom of Lombardy, and was the last of the race of Charlemagne who reigned in Italy.

Italy,

The kingdom of Germany, under Lewis the son of Arnulf, was invaded by the Huns, who seized and settled on those extensive provinces on the Danube to which they gave the name of Hungary. Lewis died the same year in which peace was concluded in France with Rollo; and leaving no male children, the states of Germany elected Conrad, duke of Franconia, of another family, as his successor. No one of the Carlovingian race was able to assert his claim to the vacant throne: and from this time, both

and Germany, finally separated from France.

A. D. 911. Italy and Germany were entirely separated from the dominion and crown of France³.

On the death of Lewis king of Germany, the lords of Lorrain, considering themselves as more naturally connected with France than with Germany, resolved to invite Charles to an assembly to be held for that purpose; and on his coming, they did homage, and swore allegiance to him as their sovereign.

Lorrain becomes a fief of France.
A. D. 912.

This ought to have been a great accession to a well-ordered kingdom, administered by a wise and able monarch. It rather increased the distraction, however, than the strength of France. The government of every county, province, or larger district, was now, of course, claimed as a fief of the crown, by some baron, already sufficiently powerful generally to support his claim. The government of Lorrain was conferred on Gilbert, one of the lords of the country, who, some years after, insensible of the gift, was one of the most zealous in conspiring against his sovereign, and in endeavouring again, though he did not succeed, to restore Lorrain to the kingdom of Germany.

³ "Juxta quosdam, Ludovicus ultimus dicitur Carolorum apud orientales Francos imperantium: juxta quosdam verò, Chunradus, qui post eum regnavit, ultimus computatur, à quibus pater illius Chunradus, qui ab Adalberto interfectus est, frater Ludovici hujus fuisse æstimatur." *Chronic. Abbatis Urspergen.*

Charles

Charles was not only incapable of government himself, but unfortunate or injudicious in the choice of his ministers. He was jealous of the powerful barons, and would not trust them with his confidence. They, on the other hand, were as jealous of men of superior talents, but of small property and political weight, whom he placed over them in the administration of public affairs.

A. D. 912

At a time when the whole kingdom seemed most disposed to act submissively under him, he chose Haganon for his minister; a man of ability, but selfish, proud, and of mean extraction. He succeeded some years in checking the progress of the feudal disorders, and in subduing the aristocratic factions. But his very success in those measures, and in strengthening the government, excited jealousy, and provoked resentment. Ambitious and haughty barons professed respect for their sovereign, but they had not patience under the authority and control of his minister.

Haganon minister.

One of the most powerful of these, Robert duke of France, (called, by the abbot Urspergen, Rupert,) the brother of Eudes the late king, an able politician, of great personal valour, and much respected on account both of his brother and father, knew well that his own influence, with that of a few more, could shake the throne, and prostrate both the king and his minister in the dust. He was unable to move from their allegiance, either his godson the duke of Normandy, or Richard duke of Burgundy.

Conspiracy of Robert duke of Neustria, or France.

A. D. 913. His treasonable designs were listened to with greater relish by the Neustrian barons, who were nearer the seat of government, more immediately under the eye, and more frequently affected by the mandates, of the minister. They entered cordially into his views, and agreed to promote them.

**Assembly at
Soissons.
A. D. 919.**

In an assembly held at Soissons, he appeared at the head of his faction, and reproached the king to his face, for presuming to govern the kingdom by a man whom they all knew to be inferior, both in birth and merit, to any baron of the realm. He and his associates, being furnished each of them with a straw, broke it before him, in token, according to the custom of those times, of their renouncing allegiance to him, and immediately withdrew.

But as the greater part of the assembly still remained, one of them, whom the historian names count Hugh, thus addressed him: "We
" are a small body, compared to the whole
" kingdom. The states of Burgundy, Aquitain, and Normandy, are loyal. Are you
" able, if they shall take the field in support of
" their sovereign, to oppose them with success? or are you willing, without the prospect of succeeding, to involve yourselves and
" the kingdom in the awful calamities of a civil
" war? Go, rather propose a conference with
" your king: tell him the causes of your discontent: advise him to correct the evils of
" which you complain. If he shall consent,
" make trial of his administration another year;
" but

" but if he shall not, then proceed with prudence and resolution to execute the plan which, on the whole, shall then appear the best. I offer myself to lay your grievances before him, and to do any other thing appointed by you, however odious, which may be judged wise and necessary." The majority present applauded this speech, and resolved to attempt the proposed reconciliation with the king.

A. D. 919.

Almost in despair from previous appearances, Charles was overjoyed with the proposal which the count brought him from that assembly. He readily agreed to dismiss Haganon his minister, and in general to redress the grievances complained of.

This reconciliation, however, was only in appearance, and was employed, on both sides, to strengthen each his party. Charles, on the one hand, recalled Haganon; and Robert, on the other, raised the standard of rebellion. Great numbers flocked round it. Their resolution increased with their numbers. They declared the king incapable and unworthy to reign; and having dethroned him, they elected Robert to be king in his room.

Robert
elected
king,
A. D. 921.

Yet Charles had many friends. Gilbert, on whom he had conferred the government of Lorrain, proved treacherous, and joined the rebels; but many of the lords of that country continued faithful. Aquitain was generally loyal. They rose in defence of their king: they

A. D. 921. they surprised the rebel army at Soissons: a general engagement ensued. Robert, though cased in armour, as was now the practice, was killed. His son Hugh immediately assumed the command, and the battle continued. The royal army was defeated, and all their baggage taken.

Charles himself narrowly escaped. He still entertained the hope that the rebels, deprived of Robert their head, might relent, and return to their allegiance; or that they were likely to differ in their choice of his successor. But he was deceived; they were disposed to prefer any one to him.

Ralph is
elected
king.

A. D. 923.

Hugh, the son of Robert, is said to have refused the crown. Through his influence and recommendation, probably, it was conferred on Ralph, his brother-in-law, the duke of Burgundy, who had no such title as the son of Robert, a descendant of Charles Martel; or as Herbert, the count of Vermandois, a descendant of Charlemagne; but as duke of Burgundy, and proprietor of other territories, he was the most powerful baron of the kingdom*.

Charles, betrayed by his relation the count of Vermandois, under the appearance of friendship was invited to visit him, was separated from his attendants, and thrown into prison. His queen, the daughter of Edward I. of England,

* Glaber. lib. i. c. 21. Aimoin. de Mir. Sancti Bened. Flodoardi Chronicon. 923.

fled to her father with her son Lewis, hence called d'Outremer or Transmarine, then an infant of three years of age. A. D. 923.

RODOLPH, OR RALPH, king of France.

Rodolph, now in possession of the throne, was endowed with talents which peculiarly fitted him for the high and arduous station in which he was placed. His good sense disposed him to respect every one, and to accommodate himself to others, in all things indifferent or reasonable. He was political, but open, active, and determined. He was connected, by blood and by marriage, with the most respectable and powerful of the nobles, as with the dukes of Normandy and of Neustria, and the count of Vermandois. The power of two or three such barons as these, cordially united to his own, rendered him a match against any other probable confederacy in the kingdom.

The count of Vermandois at first supported him; but, on the whole, occasioned him more anxiety during his reign, than any other lord of the realm. He was descended of Charlemagne by Bernard king of Italy, and so entitled to some share in the disposal of the crown. He had, unwillingly perhaps, co-operated with his more powerful relations in exalting Rodolph to the throne. Though inferior to the great dukes of Burgundy, Neustria, &c. yet he enjoyed an extensive territory in that populous and fertile province of Neustria which stretches along

Rodolph
king.

Herbert
count of
Vermandois' faction.

A. D. 923. along the Somme and Seine. The unfortunate Charles, whom he had betrayed, was his prisoner, and kept as a tool for some favourable opportunity of gratifying ambition. The idea which he entertained of his own importance and services, went far beyond any reasonable measure of recompence. Contrary to the canon law, he had obtained the archbishopric of Rheims for his son, who was no more than five years of age; and he now demanded for himself, or another son, the government of the important city and district of Laon. This the king, Ralph, refused him, and gave it, as was more regular and customary, to the eldest son of the former count; a cause sufficient to incense the fierce temper of Herbert.

He brought forward the dethroned king, and proposed to his remaining friends to restore him to his throne. He had the address to engage the dukes of Neustria and Normandy, (the former now a brother-in-law of Charles by another daughter of the king of England, and the latter Herbert's own son-in-law,) and also the king of Germany, whose interests in Lorraine were likely to be promoted by it, to assist him in replacing the crown on the head of his royal prisoner. For the same purpose, letters were procured from pope John X., threatening with excommunication every one who should oppose the restoration of Charles.

He was not a little surprised, after four years, to be thus all of a sudden liberated from his imprisonment. The sentiments of resentment

ment gave way to those of gratitude and tenderness. Herbert professed the most sincere regret for what was past, and now the most profound respect. The people, who so lately applauded the coronation of Rodolph, received back Charles, their lawful king, with the most joyful acclamations. The duke of Normandy, and almost all the lords of Neustria, swore allegiance to him.

A. D. 923.

Rodolph trembled, and hastened to propose to Herbert terms of negociation. The latter, altogether selfish, considered Charles as a mere tool. The government of Laon was the cause of his resentment; and he now proposed to accept of it as the price of his abjuration of the one prince, and oath of allegiance to the other. Laon was accordingly taken from the son of Rothgar, its former count, and conferred on the son of Herbert; and the simple and unfortunate Charles was persuaded, after being again confined to a prison, to accept of the palace and territory of Attigny, in lieu of all right and pretensions to the crown of France. He died a few months after, in the fiftieth year of his age, and thirtieth year of his reign; and so left Rodolph, as his successor, in the undisputed possession of the throne^s.

Death of
Charles the
Simple.
A. D. 929.

He reigned now with freedom and energy. His wisdom and valour generally secured him esteem and respect. His vassals, whenever summoned, flocked to his standard. His plans

^s Flodoardi Chronicon.

were

A.D. 929.

Rodolph's
activity and
success.

were well devised, and his measures duly arranged. Wherever he turned, his opponents disappeared, his enemies suffered. The Normans submitted in peace. The people of Aquitaine, still disposed to rebel, yet stood in awe of him. By throwing the weight of his authority and power sometimes into the one scale, and sometimes into the other, he checked the resentments, and restrained the private wars, now frequent between the inferior as well as the greater vassals of the crown. He proceeded even to strip some of them of those offices and privileges which rendered them so formidable both to the crown and to one another.

Herbert could not bear to be restrained by the man whom he considered as so lately indebted to him for the crown. He revolted, and offered himself to Henry the king of Germany. He was at too great a distance, however, from that prince. He continued in a state of rebellion several years, but was forced, at last, to acknowledge his inferiority, to relinquish the government of Laon, and to submit to the king.

The Hungarians had penetrated through Germany, passed the Rhine, and invaded Burgundy. Rodolph knew the danger of allowing them time to settle, and to taste the enjoyment of a country so much superior to their own. He summoned his vassals extensively: they readily assembled. The enemy scarcely waited his arrival. They saw the promptitude of his orders, the extent of his authority, and the ardor

dor and power of his army; and returned A. D. 929.
hastily beyond the Rhine.

He died soon after, of the *morbus pedicularis*, at Autun, on the fifteenth of January, A. D. 936. His ambition to obtain the crown had contributed to increase the enormous power of the aristocracy, and had almost annihilated the royal authority; but his abilities sustained the throne, and in some measure restored its former strength and stability.

Death of
Rodolph.
A. D. 936.

The death of Rodolph was followed by an inter-reign of five months, occasioned by the rivalry of Hugh duke of France, and Herbert count of Vermandois. Both claimed the crown, as descendants of Charles Martel and Charlemagne; and, both great themselves, they were supported by powerful friends. After some time, the former dropped his claim; judging it better policy to confer the crown on another, and to retain the power to himself to make that which he found he could not be. He invited Lewis, or Transmarine, with whom his mother, the daughter of Edward and sister of Athelstane, had fled to England, to return, and assume the crown and kingdom of his father. England then, for the first time, began to interfere with the politics of France. Athelstane, naturally interested in his nephew, engaged the duke of Normandy to support him. Herbert, upon this, saw it was vain to oppose the general current. An assembly of the states was convened, and by them the crown was unanimously tendered to Lewis.

His

A. D. 936

His uncle shewed some unwillingness, at first, to part with him; and put the ambassadors, who came to convey him to France, in mind of the fate of his father. But they were authorised to assure him, in the most solemn manner, of respect and protection. The young prince arrived in safety, and was crowned with every demonstration of joy⁶.

LEWIS IV. surnamed TRANSMARINE.

Lewis IV.
at first re-
spects
Hugh;

Lewis was but sixteen years of age when he ascended the throne of France. Gratitude disposed him, for some time, to respect highly the man to whom he owed his advancement to the crown. He made Hugh, the duke of Neustria, his first minister: and whatever were the duke's views and motives of loyalty, there is no doubt that, in respect of talents, he was worthy of the high office and trust conferred on him.

His principles, however, were plainly not equal to his talents. The young prince perceived his selfishness, and endeavoured to be independent of him. He could not bear to be the tool of another's ambition: he would not submit to unreasonable and unnecessary restraint; nor would he, any longer, silently allow the aggrandisement of a subject, above what to him appeared safe for the king and government.

⁶ Flodoardi Chron. ad Ann. 936.

- His spirit became known to some of the clergy and nobles, who encouraged him in his resolution to emancipate himself. He trusted in their protection, and made his escape from Paris. He sent to England for his mother, in whose counsel he was disposed to place much confidence; and in her prudence, and in the influence of the clergy, he found resources against even the policy and power of Hugh the Great and his faction. To the conspiracy of that duke, of the count of Vermandois, the duke of Normandy, the duke of Lorraine, and the king of Germany, all against him, he opposed successfully the threatening of ecclesiastical censure; an evil more dreaded in those times, than any punishment, personal or political, which could be inflicted.

A. D. 936.

escapes
from him;

For some time his affairs continued to prosper. He was active: he conducted the war against his several opponents, and particularly against the king of Germany, with great spirit: he made himself master of Alsace: he drove the German troops out of France: he secured Laon against the count of Vermandois, who, with the aid of the bishop, was preparing to seize it. He received not a little countenance and support from his uncle the king of England, who overawed the coast of Flanders and Germany with a fleet.

prosper;

After three years of prosperity, however, his power began to decline. The various struggles in which he was engaged, are not sufficiently interesting to be recorded in detail. They af-

A. D. 939.
declines.

A. D. 939 forded him various opportunities of displaying superior talents, both military and political, which might have shone with lustre in better times. But he was harassed on every side, with friends who were disorderly and unaccommodating, and with foes who were obstinate and powerful.

The dukes of Lorraine and Franconia, whom he had left to defend and maintain his late conquests in Alsace, knowing that Otho the king of Germany was occupied with the siege of Brisac, proposed, by plundering the adjacent country, to oblige him to raise that siege. They so far obtained their aim, that he sent a detachment to attack them. They had reason to expect this as a thing which they had designedly provoked; yet they were careless and unprepared. Their troops were surprised and defeated. They were killed themselves; the one at his dinner, and the other by being chased into the Rhine. Lewis did all that he could personally, both by sound policy and by arms, to avert the consequences of this defeat, and to defend Alsace and Lorraine against the power of Germany; but his exertions were not successful.

Otho laid claim to these provinces; and being much superior in number, as well as in resources and military experience, he overran and subdued them. He seems even to have entertained some designs of ambition against France. He conspired with Herbert of Vermandois, and Hugh of Neustria, against their lawful sovereign.

reign. A confederacy so strong seemed irresistible. They dispossessed the archbishop of Rheims both of his bishopric and of the county, which, as was frequent in those times, he held as a temporal lord. They laid siege to Laon, in the hope of restoring it to Herbert; but it was well defended: and, by the king's activity, they were forced to raise the siege. Unable, however, to keep the field against the troops of such a confederacy, he retired among his friends into Burgundy. There he recruited his army, and returned to Lorraine. His interest seemed to be to avoid an engagement, which they studiously attempted. The country was exposed on both sides to devastation. The proprietors of it, interested in preserving their territories from the calamities always incident to the seat of war, interposed their mediation, and procured a truce.

A. D. 939A

Confederacy against him.

The truce was of short duration. The confederates again besieged Laon. The king attempted to relieve it, but he failed: his army was routed, and he was nearly taken prisoner. The minds of men, ever prone to follow the fortunate, neglected, and generally deserted, their unsuccessful prince.

He possessed that noble mind which sinks not under misfortune. He found the people of Aquitain more loyal and steady. They raised an army, and encouraged him still to resist the aim of the confederacy. Other circumstances contributed to revive him. His queen Gerberge was delivered of a son, to whom he hoped

A. D. 939.

Is relieved
by the
pope's le-
gate.

A. D. 942.

he should yet convey his dominions unimpaired. A legate arrived from the pope, who, in these times of extreme superstition, was equal to a great army. By his letters and address he intimidated the one party, no less than he encouraged and animated the other. He represented to all, the danger of rebellion and anarchy to both their spiritual and temporal interests, and threatened them with the highest censures of the church if they did not immediately return to their allegiance.

The popes needed but a slight invitation to intermeddle in the affairs of France. They felt a special sympathy with the clergy, and more particularly in a prelate of such rank as the archbishop of Rheims. His sufferings in defence of his sovereign, and his deprivation of both his ecclesiastical and temporal lordships, had no small influence in procuring this seasonable interposition of papal authority. The legate's threatenings proved effectual. The clergy every where spread the alarm among both nobles and people. Otho was afraid, and withdrew his troops. Herbert only required that his son should be formally invested with the archbishopric and county of Rheims; and Hugh, whom Flodoard now calls the Great, and the Prince, judged it expedient with them to acquiesce in a peace.

Infidelity
of Lewis in
Normandy.

It is with regret that history records any thing prejudicial to the character of Lewis, hitherto so commendable. William duke of Normandy, lately assassinated at a conference
by

by Arnulph the count of Flanders, left one son, named Richard, very young. Lewis officiously undertook the tutelage of him as a minor vassal, which indeed the feudal customs authorised, but entered on it more warmly under the pretext of friendship. He carried him as his ward to Laon, the chief place in the kingdom for security and strength. He put him under a strict guard, and held him in fact as a hostage, while he meditated in the present, which he thought a favourable juncture, to recover the duchy of Normandy to the crown. A. D. 942.

The death of Herbert count of Vermandois removed one great obstacle: he purchased the friendship of Hugh the Great, by unpolitically rendering him still greater by conferring on him the duchy of Burgundy. He hoped also to find the Normans in a distracted and feeble state, as they had no proper leader, (their duke being a minor,) and as they were, notwithstanding, engaged in a war with Brittany. A. D. 943.

He entered Normandy with an army accordingly, and was at first successful; but he became jealous of his ally Hugh the Great, the duke of Neustria and Burgundy, as too intent on his own interest, and aiming at still more honour and power in Normandy. The king therefore relaxed his progress, afraid lest warfare might be more favourable to the duke than himself; and endeavoured, by policy and negotiation rather than by force of arms, to bring the people under subjection to his government.

A. D. 943.

Richard
escapes.

Meantime their young duke Richard escaped from Laon. Their courage revived, on seeing him safe and free; yet they were afraid that they might not be able to protect him. They solicited, and obtained, the patronage and aid of Hugh the Great. To him Lewis offered the half of Normandy if he would abandon that alliance, and rather join him in conquering the duchy. He consented. The Normans now thought they were undone, and offered submission to the king, if he would engage not to give up any of them, or of their territory, to the duke of Neustria and Burgundy. By these negotiations and delays they gained time, till a reinforcement of their own countrymen came from the north, and relieved them from the ambition and treachery of both. The Normans now boldly took the field, engaged the king's army, routed it with great slaughter, and made the king himself a prisoner⁷.

The king a
prisoner.
A. D. 945.

The queen Gerberge, deeply afflicted by this event, applied for aid in vain to the king of Germany; and with no better success to the son of Herbert. She was obliged, in this extremity, to have recourse to Hugh the Great, who only waited such an opportunity for gratifying his resentment and ambition. He received her application with much civility, appeared to enter into all her views, and with the ardour of a friend engaged to procure the king's liberty from the Normans. This he did accomplish; but he took him from one prison, only to place

⁷ Flodoard. Chron. ad ann. 945. Dudo, lib. iii.

him

him in another: nor did he deliver him, though both the king of Germany and of England interceded with him, till the queen surrendered into his hands the city of Laon, one of the chief places of strength in the kingdom. On being put in possession of this city, he liberated the king; and, as a vassal, renewed his homage and allegiance to him. Richard was admitted duke of Normandy for simple homage, free of all service^{*}; and the war for a season ended.

A. D. 945.

But the least incident was sufficient to rekindle the flames of jealousy, resentment, and ambition. Hugh, more powerful than his sovereign, could not bear submission to him, and aimed at supreme authority. He was generally respected, but he was also feared. He did not venture to publish his design, until he had secured every one who he even suspected might oppose him. He was already in possession of the government of the principal provinces of France: he only wanted Normandy, more attached to him, to render him fearless and confident.

He represented to the tutors and ministers of the young duke, that he was a stranger in France, unallied to any family which could effectually support him; and surrounded as he was by many powerful and ambitious states, it was surely their duty and interest to direct him, without delay, to form a suitable and useful connection. If they should consider his fa-

^{*} Additamenta ad Gulielm. Gemetic. Duchesne.

A. D. 945. mily, as they surely might consider it, as superior to all others answerable to this description, for his own part he had no objections to the marriage of his daughter with the duke of Normandy. But as it might be violently opposed by others, the enemies of both families, he advised that it should be resolved on, and consummated without delay. Little farther deliberation seemed necessary: the offer was accepted, and the marriage was celebrated.

The other great barons, the king especially and his friends, were justly alarmed. The counts of Vermandois and Flanders readily armed in his behalf: the king of Germany accepted of Lorraine as an inducement to send an army to support him. Their joint forces amounted to one hundred and eighty thousand men. They took Rheims, and restored it to Artold, its former archbishop: they ravaged the territories of the duke of Neustria; but they accomplished no important political change. They became jealous of one another, and separated in anger.

**Council of
Ingelheim.
A. D. 948.**

Discord and apprehension agitated all Europe, interested in one or other of these states and potentates. The pope interposed his authority. He called a general council at Ingelheim. The two monarchs attended, with the clergy and nobles of France and Germany, in order to try and compose these dissensions and wars. His legate presided. When the preliminary forms were finished, Lewis rose, and verbally stated,

stated, "That by the suffrages of this very duke, Hugh of Neustria, and of the other nobles of France, he had been elected their king; and being by their deputies, in consequence, invited and urged, he had come from Britain, where he then resided, to ascend the throne of France: that the same duke, some time after, by fraud and force, had apprehended him, and confined him a full year in prison; nor would he then release him but on condition of being put in possession of Laon, which was all that remained by that time of the royal dominions: that if any one, however, should pretend to say that he had suffered these things justly, or through any fault or crime of his, he was willing to clear himself by a solemn appeal in single combat to the judgment of God."

The assembly commiserated the sufferings of the king, and heard with indignation the calamities in which the overgrown duke of Neustria had involved the kingdom. They issued different comminatory sentences of excommunication against him, for several causes; for his violence against the archbishop of Rheims and the bishop of Laon, as well as against his sovereign: and there is reason to think that these invasions of the territories and rights of the church, were not the least motives which influenced the church of Rome to interfere on this occasion.

Hugh was only the more irritated by these proceedings, though his arms were not successful

A. D. 948. ful against Soissons and Ronci. Want of success, joined with the influence of superstition, rendered the proceedings of the council of Treves, which met soon after again under the presidency of the papal legate, more effectual.

The legate formally inquired in what manner Hugh, duke of Neustria, &c. had conducted himself, since the meeting of the late council of Ingelheim, towards his sovereign; and towards the church. In answer, his violences in different quarters were fully narrated. Enquiry was then made, whether he had been duly summoned to this council, and whether he had received due notification of the acts of the preceding one against him. It was answered in the affirmative. Being called, he did not appear. They waited, calling him repeatedly, till the third day, and then solemnly excommunicated him. The sentence of excommunication was

A. D. 949. confirmed at Rome.

Still the war continued, though less generally. Great disorders were committed. The licentious, as well as the superstitious and political, took advantage of the sentence of excommunication, to invade and ravage the territories of the condemned duke and his adherents. They, on the other hand, defended themselves, and made reprisals. At last, through the mediation of the king of Germany, a negotiation was entered into. Hugh did homage in presence of the contending armies, and so the war apparently terminated.

Peace:
A. D. 950.

Hosti-

Hostilities, however, occasionally broke out during the three remaining years of the reign of Lewis. He fell accidentally from his horse, as he rode at full gallop in pursuit of a wolf, and was so bruised that he died soon after, in the thirty-third year of his age, and eighteenth of his reign^{*}.

A. D. 950.

Death of
Lewis;
September,
A. D. 954.

In more quiet and orderly times he might have been held a great and virtuous prince. His judgment, his temper, and virtues, were severely tried; and it is no slight evidence of his talents, and of the general respect entertained for him, that he was able, so long and so effectually, to resist the ambition of Hugh the Great.

LOTHAIRE, King of France.

Of the five sons of Lewis, two only survived him. Charles, the youngest, was but a year old, and received no share of the kingdom. Henceforward it became a custom, and a fundamental law of the realm, that the kingdom should always descend undivided and entire.

Lothaire had been associated in the government with his father three years before his death. His youth and inexperience rendered his accession now the more easy, as the nobles preferred the sovereign who was least able to restrain and control them.

Lothaire
associated:

* Flodoard. Chron. ad Ann. 948-9.

Hugh

A. D. 954.

Hugh was advised by his friends at this favourable crisis to advance boldly, and seize the crown: yet the consideration just mentioned deterred him. He feared not Lothaire, but he feared the jealousy of the nobles in general, who were averse from such an authority as his, which on the throne might deprive them of their liberty and independence. He preferred delay therefore, and entertained the hope of success from policy rather than from violence.

He was gratified, in the mean time, by the prudence and address of the queen-mother, who consulted him as a friend, and solicited with confidence his countenance and protection for the young king.

She shewed due respect at the same time for her brother Otho, the king of Germany, and her other powerful relations. In an assembly of the states of the kingdom, Lothaire was solemnly crowned at Rheims.

The main, though perhaps unavoidable, error of the queen, and of those who acted with her in the administration of the kingdom, was the grant to Hugh, already too great, of the government of Aquitaine, the almost only remaining object of his ambition necessary to the completion of his supreme authority in France. It was the price of his friendship, and the only price worthy of his acceptance which she had to bestow. The grant of it to him occasioned a private war betwixt him and William count of Poitiers, from whom it was taken for that purpose.

The

The latter was defeated, and nearly taken prisoner; but the war came to an end by the death of the aggressor, in the month of June, A.D. 956.

A. D. 954.

Death of
Hugh.
A. D. 956.

He was great in his talents and property, in his governments and alliances: he was himself a descendant of the family of Charlemagne, by Robert the Strong, count of Anjou. He had married, first, a sister of Lewis the Stammerer; second, a daughter of Edward, king of England; and third, a sister of the king of Germany. His ambition was extreme. His death must have afforded great relief to the queen-mother, to the king, and to the other nobles, whom his exorbitant power overawed and depressed. They hoped now to appear, like the stars, with some lustre, on the setting of the sun.

He left four sons. The oldest of them, Hugh Capet, received the city of Paris, and the county of Orleans. Otho, the second, died young. Eudes, and after his death Henry, was duke of Burgundy. Aquitain reverted to the count of Poitiers, with whom the crown was unable to contend. All that remained to the king was the city and territory of Laon, and a few palaces. He was entitled, indeed, to demand the military service of his barons over all the kingdom except Normandy, which, by the treaty of the preceding reign, owed homage to the king, and service to God only. But when the sovereign wanted the power to enforce his summons, and to compel their service, they granted it only when it was agreeable to themselves.

A. D. 956. selves. A feeble-minded, a reserved, an inactive prince, could not prevail with them, and must have been neglected; but a popular, active, and enterprising warrior, such as Lothaire was, without being too formidable, engaged their respect, and moderately secured their attendance.

Lothaire
active.

The present seemed a favourable season, while the son of Hugh was so young, to recover some of the principal counties of the kingdom. He made attempts in vain on Aquitaine and Normandy; he subjected the count of Flanders; and by prudent alliances, and balancing of interests, he preserved the country generally for several years in peace¹⁰.

A. D. 965.

His success against Flanders encouraged him to attempt the conquest also of Lorraine. Otho II. wisely considering all circumstances, and particularly the predilection of that country for the race of Charlemagne, judged it better to relinquish it voluntarily, than to contend for it against the will of the people by arms. At the same time he resolved to divide the royal family of France, rather than to aggrandize the reigning prince. He offered the Lower Lorraine, comprehending Brabant, and the territories between the Rhine, the Scheldt, and the ocean, to Charles, Lothaire's brother, to be held by him as a fief of the German crown.

¹⁰ Dudo, lib. iii. Gulielm. Gemet. lib. iv. Chron. Flodoard. 965.

Charles,

Charles, being otherwise unprovided for, accepted the gift, without regard to the policy. A. D. 965.

Lothaire, mortified and enraged, assembled an army, and overran the country. But though he had spirit and power to conquer, he wanted troops to maintain his conquests. Some of his vassals, engaged only for a time, and feeling no interest or ardour in the war, deserted him; and he had neither authority to command, nor recompence to purchase, the continuance of their service. They were fond, generally, of active war and spoil, but not of defensively occupying posts and garrisons. When Otho, now emperor of Germany, came with sixty thousand men to recover Lorraine, and to make reprisals on France, Lothaire soon re-assembled an army sufficient to attack and repel him.

Next year a negotiation took place, and a treaty was concluded, by which it was agreed that Lorraine should be considered as belonging to France, but that the emperor should hold it, and govern it as a fief of the French crown. Four years after, on the death of Otho, Lothaire took advantage of the youth and inexperience of his son, Otho III., again to attempt the conquest of Lorraine; but before he had made much progress in that country, he died in March A. D. 986, in the thirty-second year of his reign, and about the fiftieth of his age". Lothaire dies. A. D. 986.

" Glabar. lib. i. c. 3. Gerberti Epist. 74.

A. D. 986.

The facts which history has recorded of him are chiefly of a public and military nature, and do not enable us to form any precise judgment of his temper and character; but there is no doubt that he must have possessed considerable talents and military genius, who was generally successful in attaching the crown vassals to him, and in restraining those who were disorderly; and who was able, particularly, to bring promptly such a force into the field as to chase the German army of sixty thousand men out of France.

LEWIS V. King of France.

Lothaire, like his father, and many of his predecessors, had taken the precaution to associate his son Lewis with him in the government of the kingdom. On his death-bed he earnestly recommended him to the care and protection of Hugh Capet, whom he had almost uniformly since the death of Hugh the Great enjoyed as his friend.

Lewis was about nineteen years of age at the time of his father's death. He was readily acknowledged king, and his accession was altogether favourable and quiet. But he had neither the popular talents nor political genius of his father. He enjoyed, as he did, the tuition, but confided not, like him, in the counsels, of his mother Emma. He distrusted both her policy and her virtue. It was not the interest of Hugh Capet to reconcile them. The emperor of Germany

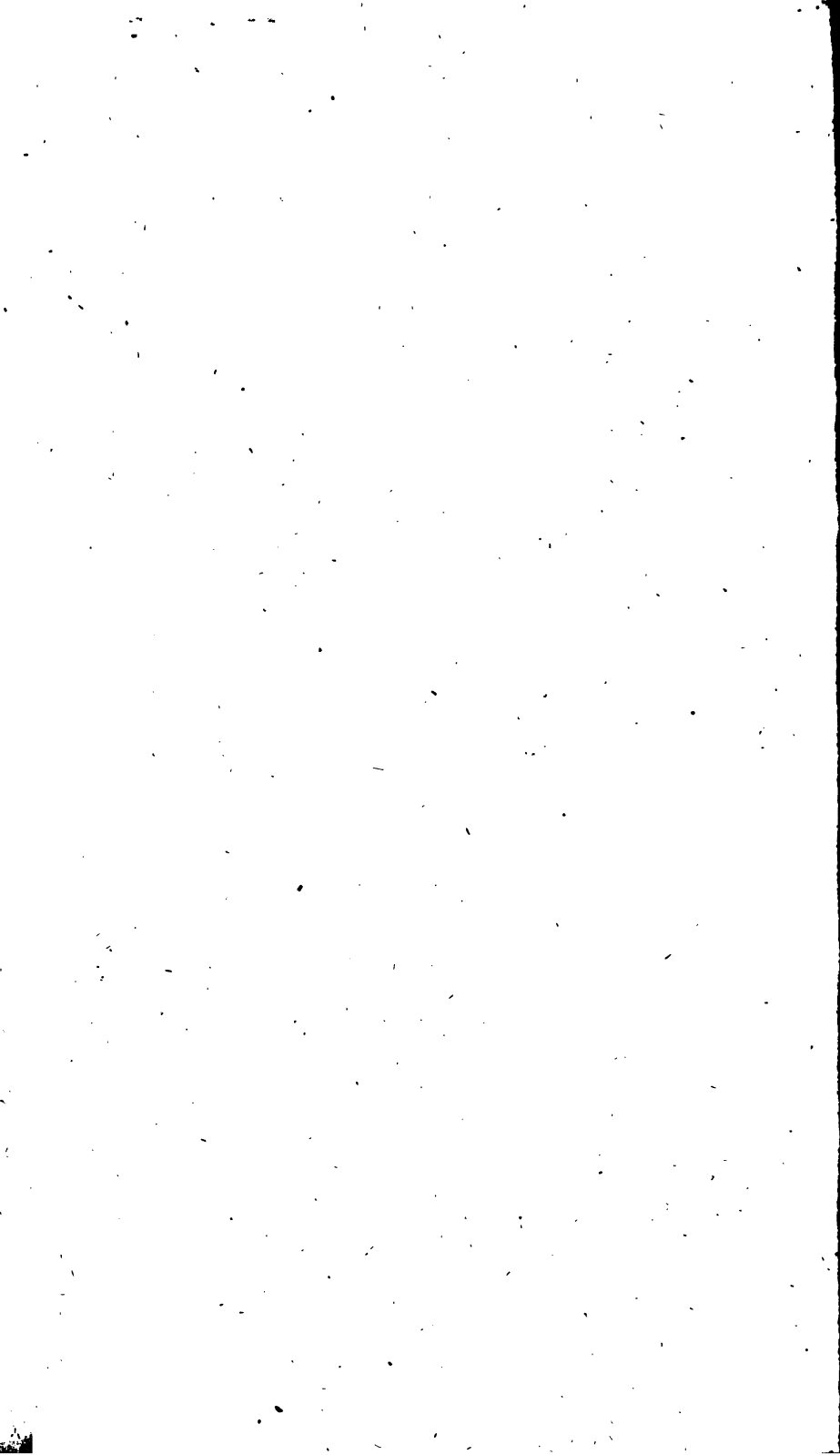
Germany too might have acted more zealously in their behalf, had he not been prejudiced by the family of Capet.

A. D. 986.

Lewis differed not only with his mother, but with his queen, Blanche of Aquitain. He seems not to have enjoyed an amiable temper. He reigned but fourteen months, and died unregretted and without children.

Lewis dies.
A. D. 987.

His uncle Charles attempted to succeed him; but his submission as a vassal to the emperor of Germany in Lorraine, had rendered him unpopular. The family of Charlemagne was now rejected, after a duration of 237 years; and a new dynasty ascended the throne of France.



CHAP. II.

The History of Religion in France from the Death of Charlemagne, A. D. 814, to Hugh Capet, A. D. 987.

SECT. I.

Of the State of Religion and Morals.

THE Christian religion was now extended and established over all France. The energy of Charlemagne's government, which pervaded every branch of his administration, and animated the clerical as well as the civil officers with zeal, rendered every teacher, whether he was a bishop or country-priest, active in his own sphere, in communicating knowledge, and in maintaining discipline and order. It cannot be said, that that knowledge was the simple doctrines of the gospel, and that that order was pure Christian morality. The precious light of Heaven was clouded with many shades of human opinion; and the office and authority of the moral law were usurped by frivolous rites and ecclesiastical canons.

Some vestiges of heathen superstition still remained in those customs, which kept fast hold of the minds of the people. Many of them believed

believed in magic, enchantment, divination, and witchcraft; and dreaded their influence on the atmosphere, and on the fruits of the earth; on cattle, on their implements of husbandry, on their personal prosperity, and on their domestic enjoyments. Nor can these sentiments of superstition be said to have been derived from any single ancient tribe or nation; for though more familiar among the eastern and northern nations, though they abounded among the Celtes and still abound among the Germans, yet they are founded on some of the best principles as well as on the weakness of our nature, and are common to the human race. Prohibitions and penal laws, though often found contributing rather to spread and confirm these notions, continued to be enacted and employed to suppress them*. They are the meteors of darkness, which uniformly vanish with the progress of the light of Heaven.

The zeal and ambition of the clergy to increase the number, rather than to secure the purity, of their converts, augmented greatly the mixture of heathen superstition with Christian faith and practice. Pope Gregory's advice to his missionaries, among Pagan nations in the sixth century, and frequently put in practice afterwards, was not to be too rigid in the abolition of old habits and prejudices: that accommodation was necessary, at first, to the increase of numbers, and to the establishment of authority; more favourable circumstances after-

* Sixth Council of Paris, A. D. 829.

wards might render them successful in purifying both their faith and morals².

The state of the Jews in France during this ^{The Jews.} period, was sometimes precarious. Their own imprudence and avarice furnished their enemies with occasion to reproach and oppress them: their property, which lay at the mercy of those in power, was visible and tempting. Having no share in the landed property, nor in the government of the nation, they were supposed to feel no interest in its prosperity and welfare; but above all, they were considered as the most inveterate enemies of the author and doctrines of the Christian religion. Hence their lives were frequently embittered, and their persons and property were insecure.

It was represented as unbecoming a Christian to serve a Jew, and still more unbecoming that he should remain his property as a slave. To every slave of the Jews, who panted for emancipation, this was a welcome doctrine: they presented themselves to the clergy, claimed baptism, and asserted their liberty.

Both the church and state were divided in their opinions on the subject. Such protection, on the whole, as a weak government could afford, was vouchsafed to the Jews; but it was insufficient to defend them against the injustice and violence of the clergy, whose prejudices, and of the people, whose interests, were keenly op-

² Bed. Hist. lib. i. c. 30.

posed to them. "What shall I do?" said Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, discussing this subject, "Ought I to refuse baptism to the slaves of Jews? The apostles and their disciples did not ask, nor wait, for the consent of the masters of those slaves whom they baptized." On being opposed by the Jews, who asserted their rights, Agobard became more zealous. He exhorted Christians every where over his diocese, to withdraw from all intercourse with Jews; and he employed all his influence with other bishops, and with the civil power, to persecute and oppress them. When Christians and their teachers are engrossed with such topics as these, pure and undefiled religion cannot be expected to flourish among them.

State of the country unfavourable.

The general state of the country was peculiarly unfavourable to the cultivation of religious knowledge and of Christian morals. It was distracted by feudal contentions and usurpation, and by Norman invasion and devastations. Perpetually disturbed by these causes, and by the various passions, jealousy, fear, revenge, &c. which they excite, they were neither inclined nor qualified for attending to subjects which re-

³ Fleury, liv. xl. ou tom. x. p. 320.

But the apostles and first Christians claimed no such emancipation for their converts. Their doctrine and conduct were more just and reasonable. "Let every man abide in the calling wherein he was called. Art thou called, being a servant, care not for it; but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather." 1 Cor. vii. 20, 21.

quire

quire leisure and quiet; and their frequent and strong temptations to disorder and criminality prejudiced and averted their minds from those holy doctrines and laws with which the gospel would have reprov'd and restrained them.

But in fact the gospel was generally neglected by the clergy themselves, if we may judge of their ordinary sermons and exhortations by their other writings; for whether they argue or exhort, they appeal not generally to the scriptures for proofs and authorities, but to the canons of ecclesiastical councils, and to the writings of the fathers. A few only of the most eminent could write, or could appeal to either the one or the other, being shamefully ignorant and illiterate.

Writings
and con-
duct of the
clergy un-
favourable.

Their moral conduct corresponded to their ignorance and neglect of the scriptures. Ambitious of mere worldly honour and power, and zealous only to maintain external rites and forms, and to aggrandise their own clerical order, they were regardless of purity and rectitude. They employed any means to attain their end. It seemed to them no crime to gratify their passions, however base, provided they could do it privately; nor were they always so prudent and cautious as carefully to conceal their vicious principles and criminal conduct. They pledged the sacred vessels and goods of their churches: they received bribes for conniving at the scandalous conduct of those whom they ought to have subjected to discipline: they indulged in intemperance, and various excesses and dissipation,

tion, at sacred festivals and public solemnities: they professed celibacy and chastity, yet were almost openly regardless of self-denial and sexual restraint*. Thus, by their depraved example, they contaminated the very people whom it was their office and duty to enlighten and sanctify. Exceptions, no doubt, there were among the clergy, of men eminent both for learning and piety; but they do not appear to have been numerous. Their learning was not generally of the most useful kind, consisting chiefly in the knowledge of the fathers; and their piety was disfigured by fanaticism and superstition.

Causes of
clerical
profligacy.

Several causes may be assigned for this general profligacy among the clergy.

Attendance
at court.

The infrequency of learning rendered those who possessed it peculiarly respectable. They were the oracles of the times, whom both the church and state consulted: they naturally assumed authority: their opinion was law, and their resentment was formidable. Their knowledge and their talents were necessary at court, where some of them always resided. A great part of their time there was occupied with civil affairs, and with the usual luxury and pleasures attendant on royalty. By these their clerical

* Quotations would be endless, either of particular examples, or of the prohibitions of them in ecclesiastical canons. Every council, general and provincial, might be referred to. See, among others, the Canons of the Council of Pavia, A. D. 850; the Sixth Council of Paris, A. D. 828; the Capitul. of Hincmar, A. D. 852, &c.

habits

habits were considerably changed, and their morals were relaxed. They were not the less respected, however, by many, especially of superior rank; and were naturally the patterns which inferior ecclesiastics and courtiers copied. The influence of their corrupt example was thus extensively diffused over both religious and civil society.

Another cause of clerical degeneracy was the kind of tenure by which many benefices were held. In imitation of those of the state, churches were for many years past endowed, or conferred on terms of military service. The clergy were sometimes required, at other times they voluntarily offered, to lead their own vassals to the field of battle. These, it is true, were not generally the most esteemed and popular in the church, neither were they the most useful members of the state. In their military expeditions, they necessarily associated with men of other habits, of no religious principles, and of the most dissolute manners; and the transition is easy, from familiarity with vice, to the practice of it. Their presence might at first restrain the rudeness and dissipation of their military associates; but soon after would rather increase and strengthen their propensities to riot and excess. The reverence attached to the sacred office and character, is a sentiment too delicate for the growth of a camp; and from its decay there, men were taught, and disposed to believe, that it has no root, no energy, nor real utility. These military habits of the clergy, and these
opinions

Military
service.

opinions formed of them by the laity, were diffused, with the return of the army, over the country, and contributed much to the profligacy of churchmen, and to the general corruption of morals.

The high emoluments and privileges of the church.

The very endowments and privileges of the church proved a cause of the decline of religion. There was no other profession so honourable for the younger branches, or collateral descendants of noble families: and as these families either held the patronage of churches, or had influence to obtain it, they exercised the power of conferring the benefice, without regarding at all the talents, inclinations, or moral dispositions of him on whom they conferred it. The same rank and influence which procured the patronage, generally obtained the consent of the pope, the archbishop, or other clergy, to approve the qualifications of the presentee; and to collate him to the benefice. Young men ill-educated both in respect of literature and religious principles, the indolent, the sensual, who revolted against the labour of other professions, and courted the ease and luxury of a church living; some totally void of talents and spirit; and others, because they were zealous friends of a party or faction, rushed, or were thrust by their friends, into the church, to debase her character, and to disgrace and frustrate the great end of her constitutions. On the death of Sculf, archbishop of Rheims, A. D. 925, Herbert count of Vermandois caused his own son, but five years of age, to be elected.

That

That election was, unwillingly indeed, approved by the king, and confirmed by the pope⁵.

Finally, the frequent predatory wars, civil and foreign, feudal and Norman, in many cases destroyed the fairest property of the church, reduced many of the clergy to want, or furnished them at least with pretexts for various acts of violence and injustice, and for those pursuits and that conduct so injurious to themselves, to their country, and to religion.

The disorders of the country.

Attempts were made in the council of Attigni, A. D. 822, to check some of these evils, as the abuse of patronage, and of the right of collation and ordination; in the council of Verneuil, A. D. 844, to correct the military disposition and service of the clergy; in the council of Meaux, A. D. 845; and in other councils during the period of which we treat, to remedy the disorders so prevalent in the church; but the current was too general and strong to be stemmed either by ecclesiastical canons, or by the civil laws of a weak and inefficient government.

⁵ See preceding Chapter, § 4. or Hist. Liter. de-la France, tom. vi. p. 5.

SECT. II.

Of Ecclesiastical Men, Revenues, Institutions, &c.

THE ecclesiastical ranks and orders remained nearly the same as they were before the death of Charlemagne. In reviewing them, however, we shall observe an increase of privilege, and a progress of power. We may commence this review at the highest, and descend to the lowest, order of the clergy.

The pope

We have seen already (in the preceding Volume) the gradual rise of the bishop of Rome above all other ecclesiastical men, and some of his first attempts to extend his authority, both civil and ecclesiastical, over France. That which the greatness and liberality of Pepin and Charlemagne had conferred, the weakness of their successors confirmed and augmented. To the emperor of Rome belonged anciently the right of approving the election of a bishop to that city, before his instalment. Charlemagne claimed that right on his becoming emperor of Rome, and found no difficulty in maintaining it. But his posterity deserved not his honours, and were unable to support them.

aims to be independent of the emperor.

On the death of Stephen IV. Paschal was elected and consecrated pope A. D. 817, without

out any acknowledgment of the emperor. After his instalment, indeed, Paschal wrote to Lewis the Mild an apology, and accompanied it with magnificent presents. These were not only accepted by him, but the papal envoy Theodore was most honourably received, and gratified with all that he requested. The deeds of Pepin and Charlemagne, by which they granted the territory of Rome and the exarchate of Ravenna to the pope, were ratified anew; and several other territories, with the reserve only of imperial sovereignty, were added, in Calabria and Campania¹.

The nature of this imperial right and sovereignty over the pope, we find illustrated in the Capitularies of Lothaire, A. D. 824. They prohibit every one, bond and free, from obstructing, in any manner, the election of the pope: they declare, that the Romans only are entitled to vote at his election: that commissaries appointed by the pope and emperor, shall enquire annually into the state of the civil government of Rome and its territories, and shall report concerning the administration of justice and observance of the laws; first to the pope, for the more immediate redress of any wrong; and if that be ineffectual, to the emperor, that he, as sovereign, may enforce and maintain due obedience to the constitution. "And we require," it is added, "that all dukes, judges, and other persons, of whatever authority,

¹ Vide Constitut. Ludov. Pii, in Act. Concilior. vol. iv. p. 1236.

" shall

“ shall appear before us, when at Rome, that
 “ we may ascertain their names and number,
 “ and may admonish every one to be faithful in
 “ the discharge of his duty.” The Romans
 swore at the same time solemnly, and nearly as
 follows, “ To be faithful to the emperor Lewis
 “ and Lothaire, but without prejudice to the
 “ duties which they owed to the pope : never to
 “ consent to any election of the pope, but ac-
 “ cording to the canons of the church : nor to
 “ proceed to his instalment, until he was so-
 “ lemnly approved by the emperor, or his com-
 “ missary.”

These laws, however, unsupported by a
 sufficient and steady authority, were but a short
 time regarded. Twenty years only after, when
 Sergius was elected pope, and ordained without
 the acknowledgment and concurrence of the
 emperor, Lothaire was justly incensed, and re-
 solved to enforce the law. For this purpose he
 sent his son Lewis, appointed king of Italy,
 accompanied by his uncle Drogo bishop of
 Metz, to remonstrate against this neglect and
 violation of imperial right and authority. The
 young prince, on his arrival at Rome, was re-
 ceived with the usual pomp, and with all due
 respect. The magistrates of Rome went nine
 miles out of the city to meet and welcome him.
 The people of different ranks met him a mile
 out of the town with music, with acclamations,
 and with all the other honours usually shewn to
 the emperor. Extremely flattered with his re-
 ception, all these attended him into the city,
 and to the church of St. Peter, where the pope
 himself

himself and his clergy waited for him. Sergius embraced Lewis, and leading him into an inner court, caused the gates to be shut, and interrogated him peremptorily, "for what end he had come to Rome? If," added he, "your intentions be favourable to the Roman church and state, I will open these gates; but if not, you are now at my disposal." Amazed and intimidated, Lewis assured him that his intentions were favourable. Immediately the gates were opened, the musical choir entered, and hailed the son and representative of the emperor, now recovered from his panic, with the salutation usual on those occasions, "Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord!" prostrating themselves before him².

Thus intimidated, flattered, and bound by solemn promise, though extorted from him, to attempt nothing against the interests of Rome, the army of Lewis, which he had left encamped at a small distance from the city, was of no service in enforcing the end of his mission.

The question was rather submitted to a council of Italian bishops, in which Drogo his uncle was called to preside: and it was formally discussed, whether the election of Sergius, and his installation without the consent of the emperor, was or was not valid? It was easy in these circumstances to anticipate the decision. The pope's election without the concurrence of the emperor was confirmed, and the solemnity of a

² Ann. Bertin. 844. Liutprand. Vit. Pontif.

decree was added to the influence of a precedent in favour of this mode of procedure in all time coming.

Accordingly when Sergius died, A. D. 847, Leo IV. was in this manner chosen his successor. It was pretended, indeed, that Rome was in danger of being besieged by the Saracens, and that it was inexpedient, on that account, to await for the imperial concurrence,

On the death of Leo, the joint emperors Lothaire and Lewis exposed the weakness both of their understanding and of their authority, by attempting to grasp a right which did not belong to them. The Romans having elected Benedict III. according to the usual form, and having notified his election to the French princes, they refused to ratify it, and insisted that Anastasius, a cardinal priest of Rome, who had been deposed eighteen months before for non-residence and disobedience, should be elected pope. The French were fierce, but the Romans were firm. Anastasius, supported by the former, forcibly thrust out Benedict, and seized the pontifical chair; but no arts nor violence could prevail with the clergy to consecrate him. The imperial envoys at last, finding all their efforts vain, desisted, and acknowledged their inferiority, by confirming the election of Benedict³.

³ Anastas. in Vit. Benedict III.

One advantage, it appears, had been derived from the due notification of the pope's election to the emperor, that his presence, or the attendance of his envoys, with a suitable military force, overawed the people, and prevented those disgraceful and predatory riots to which on these occasions they were prone. On the death of Nicholas in December A. D. 867, the French claimed a right to be present at the election of his successor; but though the Romans were exposed to be pillaged by their own tumultuous and disorderly citizens, and were threatened with a French army, they replied with firmness, that they only had the right of election, and would not consent to the interference of any foreign influence. Their resolution being reported to the emperor, was approved by him; and he declared, that he had no desire to diminish, but rather to augment, their privileges.

By the tenth canon of the council of Rome, A. D. 853, it is admitted as law, that the emperor, or his representatives, ought to be present, not at the pope's election, but at his consecration. "Considering the disorders to which Rome is liable on the death of the pope, and at the election of his successor, which are to be ascribed to the absence of the emperor and his commissaries: wherefore," saith the council, "we resolve, that henceforth the pope shall be elected in the assembly of the bishops and of all the clergy, on the request of the senate and people, and shall afterwards be solemnly consecrated in presence of the commissaries of the emperor."

Such were the attempts of Rome to shake off her dependence on France. We now proceed to trace and state the means by which she endeavoured to render the French church dependent on her.

The pope next aims to render the Gallican church dependent on him.

The eminence of the city of Rome as the ancient metropolis of the empire, the respectability of her bishops, and the great credit and authority which they had acquired by their decisions in important causes appealed to them, induced them to claim a general authority, and even to delegate that authority to their representatives in foreign kingdoms. They did not merely presume to grant a temporary commission for a particular end, but they constituted them their residentiary and permanent legates or vicars. So early as the end of the sixth century, Virgilius bishop of Arles held a commission of this kind from Gregory the Great in the kingdom of Childebert. But whatever circumstances had suspended the pride and prejudices of the French clergy at that period, they were certainly in general averse to any appearance of their dependence on a foreign ecclesiastical power. When Drogo, or Dreaux, bishop of Metz, who accompanied Lewis king of Italy his nephew, returned with a legate's commission into France, it seemed so new and dangerous an encroachment on the liberties of the Gallican church, that it produced no small resentment and alarm. The council of Verneuil, A.D. 844, before which he produced his commission constituting him apostolical vicar in all the provinces on this side the Alps, with authority

authority over all the metropolitans, and with the power of convoking councils, from which there lay no appeal but to the pope, were filled with indignation, and had the commissioner insisted on his claim, it was likely to have produced a schism in the church. But he, on the one hand, submitted to their opposition with meekness; and such, on the other hand, was their respect for him personally, and for his relation to the royal family, that they did not openly and directly decide against his claim. They delayed the discussion, allowing the matter to pass simply without farther notice⁶.

In the mean time the pope neglected no favourable opportunity, which in those times too often presented itself, of extending and establishing his authority over France. In the trial and divorce of Lothaire and Theutberge, the difficulties appeared so numerous and great, and all parties appealed so often to Rome, that the interference and authority of the pope in France became quite familiar. The contentions of the two Hincmars of Rheims and Laon, and the dispute concerning the deposition of Ebbon and the ordination of Vulcade, all contributed to promote the same end. The decisions of the French provincial councils were reversed at Rome; and a direct and constant subordination and subjection was aimed to be established of the Gallican church under the pope⁷. For

⁶ Hincmar. Opuscul. 44. n. 31. Aët. Conciliar. A. D. 844.

⁷ Fleury Histoire Eccles. tom. xi. p. 354. 401. Opuscul. Hincmar. 47.

promoting this vast system, false decrees were forged as acts of councils, which, through general ignorance, few were capable, and fewer still willing, to investigate and disprove. Hincmar archbishop of Rheims, who was both able and willing, opposed them, and the authority of the pope generally, with a peculiar zeal and firmness. Yet Hincmar himself, so hard is it sometimes when ill-supported to persevere with steadiness and consistency, in the council of Troyes, A. D. 867, united with his brethren in beseeching his holiness the pope not to alter what his predecessors had regulated by their decrees, and never henceforth to suffer a bishop in any case to be deposed without the knowledge and consent of the see of Rome.

The decretal epistles were said to have been written by the pontiffs of the primitive times: the respectable name of Isidore bishop of Seville was prefixed to them, to gain and secure them credit. They began to appear in the eighth century, but were modestly quoted, till ignorance on the one hand, and high presumption on the other, now rendered their authority and triumph complete^s.

The attempt to establish a resident papal vicar in France, was renewed A. D. 876. In the council held at Pontion by the emperor Charles, two legates attended, and produced and read

^s See Blondel's Pseudo-Isidorus; and Fleury's Dissert. prefixed to the 16th volume of his Ecclesiastical History.

letters from the pope, constituting Ansegise archbishop of Sens primate and resident vicar of Gaul and Germany. The letters invested him with the power of calling councils, and with every other ecclesiastical right claimed by the pope. He was appointed to publish to all the bishops the papal decrees; to report the fidelity with which they were observed and executed; and generally, to be the organ of communication between these countries and Rome.

The emperor himself attended that council, supported the legates in enforcing the commission of Ansegise, and required the bishops present peremptorily to declare their assent and submission. While they expressed their high respect for him and for the see of Rome with a becoming dignity and firmness, they refused to acknowledge any commission or authority prejudicial to the metropolitans of the church and former canons and decrees. Frotharius bishop of Poitiers alone seconded the intention and zeal of the emperor.

Finding all the rest of the council immovable, the emperor stated, in a tone indicating no small degree of irritation, that he represented the pope in this assembly, and was bound to execute his orders: wherefore, with the concurrence of the two legates also present, he presented the pope's letter to Ansegise, appointing him resident vicar; and having caused a seat to be placed before all the bishops of the kingdom, near that of the legate on his right

hand, he commanded Ansegise to pass forward, and to occupy it. The spirit of Hincmar and his pride were roused. With all his eloquence and influence he opposed the innovation, and protested against it. But the emperor was resolute, and the measure was carried. Ansegise thenceforward assumed the title of primate and vicar of all Gaul and Germany; but it proved a mere title, as he acquired little or no actual authority or jurisdiction⁹.

The highest order of clergy within the kingdom of France was the metropolitans. They were the bishops of the provinces and of provincial cities, as of Rheims, Sens, Rouen, Tours, Arles, Lyons, Vienne, Besançon, Bourges, Bourdeaux, and Narbonne. The title archbishop, ascribed originally to patriarchs, and to the bishop of Rome only, seems, after the council of Maçon, A. D. 581, when it was first used in France, to have been gradually assumed by the metropolitans, till it came to be almost their only title.

French metropolitan,
or arch-
bishop.

The metropolitan, or archbishop, was understood to have the same charge of the clergy and of the church in his province, as a bishop

⁹ Annal. Bertin. Act. Concil. tom. vi. p. i. edit. Paris, 1714- p. 166-178.

had

had in his diocese. He ordained bishops, exercised authority, and watched over them; convened provincial councils, and presided in them.

The archchaplain was an ecclesiastical officer whom we find often mentioned during this period. Hincmar describes him under the name of apocrisiaire, and says the office was first instituted by Constantine¹⁰. When he translated the seat of empire to Byzantium, he committed the charge of the city of Rome, and of all ecclesiastical matters relating to it, to its bishop pope Sylvester, as the imperial apocrisiaire: that, after the conversion of Clovis, the bishops of France were alternately invited to court, where each in his turn resided some time, as the royal chaplain, or apocrisiaire, of France: that the office was not always confined to bishops, for the king might and did invite to the exercise of that office sometimes presbyters, and even deacons with the bishops' consent; and for this reason, adds Hincmar, that it was found inexpedient for a bishop to be so long absent from the local duties of his office.

Arch-
chaplain.

The office of the archchaplain was not merely ecclesiastical and religious. His charge and authority extended over all the other officers of the palace, who were clergymen; and this order of men only, in those days, were qualified to write, and to transact the business of the state. The chancellor, the secretaries, and their

¹⁰ De Ordine Palatii, c. 13—15.

clerks, were subject to him; and no audience was obtained of the king, especially by a churchman, nor any business begun or terminated, but by means of this first officer of state. At the same time, he directed all religious matters in the palace, with the advice and concurrence of the emperor, or king. Hence a peculiar and pre-eminent dignity and rank were attached to this office. It was conferred on men of abilities and influence; and it also naturally recommended them to the highest respect and honour among the clergy in France. In the council of Thionville, A. D. 835, Drogo bishop of Metz was called to preside, chiefly on account of the high office which he held as archchaplain ¹¹.

The bishops

The qualifications, rank, and office of a bishop were described in the preceding volume. In this article may be collected in one view, the manner of his election and ordination, as we find them detailed by Hincmar in his Epistles ¹².

On a vacancy.

On the death of the late incumbent, the clergy of the diocese sent a deputation of both clergy and laity, generally three of the one and two of the other, to intimate the vacancy to the metropolitan. He was accustomed to ask the deputies, whether they were authorised to name any one to supply the vacancy; and by several papal decrees, as well as by the practice of

¹¹ Acta Concilior. tom. iv. Flodoard. Hist. lib. ii. Hincmar. Opusc.

¹² Bibliotheca Patrum, tom. ii. p. 595, et sequent.

the church, the bishop ought always to be chosen from amongst the clergy of the diocese. The metropolitan then wrote to the king, requesting his permission that the clergy and people, nobles and citizens¹³, of the diocese might meet for the purpose of electing a bishop; and that he would nominate a bishop of a neighbouring diocese, whom the metropolitan should authorise as a visitor on that occasion, to repair to the said vacant see, and to preside in and certify the election. On the election being duly certified, the metropolitan appointed the time and place of ordination.

Circumstances previous to the election.

Mean time the metropolitan wrote to the clergy and people also of the vacant church, exhorting them to observe the usual solemnities of fasting and prayer on that occasion, to study unanimity, to attend carefully to the qualifications of the person whom they were to elect, and to carry on the election in an orderly manner, in presence of, and with a suitable respect to, the bishop-visitor. The object of their election might be a priest or deacon within their diocese, whether he officiated in a city or in a monastery; but if it should so happen that they found none whom they judged worthy of their choice within the bounds of their own church, they might elect one of the neighbouring diocese, or even province, provided, however, that they obtained the content of the bishop of that diocese in which he resided. He

¹³ "Quoniam ab omnibus debet elegi, cui debet ab omnibus obediri." Hincmari Epist. ad Hedenulfum.

warned

warned them farther to beware of simony, and of every other irregularity, lest it should be necessary to set aside their election, and to present to them, without their consent, a bishop; more fitted to restrain and subdue their temper, than disposed to accommodate himself gently to their inclinations.

At the election.

When the bishop-visitor arrived, and had assembled the clergy and people of the vacant church, he was accustomed to address them suitably to the occasion of their meeting; to read to them the passages of Timothy and Titus in which the apostle Paul describes the proper qualities of a bishop, and also the canons of the church on that subject, and generally relative to the election, to which they then proceeded.

The decree of election was drawn in the form of a letter, addressed to the metropolitan and his suffragans, and subscribed by the clergy and people of the vacant church¹⁴.

Ordination.

On the day of ordination, the church being assembled, and the decree of election having been read, the metropolitan, or, as he was now more frequently called, the archbishop, who presided, enquired if the election had been regular and free, and if the people and clergy present now consented to the ordination. He then called on the bishop-elect, and interrogated him openly concerning the place of his

¹⁴ Biblioth. Patrum, tom. ii. p. 604.

birth,

birth, his rank, his former occupations, his education, his general character. These all being certified, not merely by verbal answers, but by proper witnesses and written documents, he proceeded to examine him on the subjects of his knowledge, and on his attachment to the faith and canons of the church,

Though the church prescribed a general formula, which appears to be a mixture of the Athanasian with the apostle's creed¹⁵, yet the bishop elect was allowed to draw up the articles of his own faith, it being understood that they should contain nothing inconsistent with that formula,

The profession of Adalbert, bishop-elect of Terouane, of his faith, was in substance as follows¹⁶:

“ I profess that there is one faith only, which
 “ by divine grace I will hold, preach, and de-
 “ fend, as it is given by divine inspiration, and
 “ delivered to us by the apostles and their
 “ successors.

Bishop-elect's profession of faith.

“ I profess that there is one baptism; for
 “ the remission of sins; one apostolic and uni-
 “ versal church, in which only sins can be for-
 “ given, in the name of the Father, Son, and
 “ Holy Ghost, by means of baptism, of the
 “ fruits meet for repentance, and of that apos-

¹⁵ Biblioth. Patrum, tom. ii. p. 605.

¹⁶ Ibid.

“ catholic authority with which she is invested by
“ our Lord.

“ I profess that no one can be saved without
“ the pale of this catholic church.

“ I profess that I admit, and venerate, six
“ sacred general councils, the Nicene, the
“ Constantinopolitan, the Ephesian, Chalce-
“ donian, the Constantinopolitan under pope
“ Virgilius, and the Constantinopolitan under
“ Agatho; and I condemn all who differ from
“ them, and who have been condemned by
“ them.

“ I profess to receive the epistle of pope Leo
“ to Flavian bishop of Constantinople, and his
“ other epistles tending to establish the faith;
“ the Athanasian creed, which forms daily a
“ part of solemn service in the church, and
“ which teaches us, that there are three per-
“ sons in one God, and two natures in one per-
“ son in Christ, who was born of the Virgin
“ Mary, suffered, died, rose, ascended into
“ Heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God,
“ whence he shall come to judge the quick and
“ the dead, and shall render to every one ac-
“ cording to his works.

“ I farther anathematise all heresies and
“ schisms, which the catholic and apostolic
“ church anathematises, and whatever is con-
“ trary to sound doctrine; and from which
“ sound doctrine of the catholic church, I de-
“ clare I never will depart.

“ Finally,

“ Finally, I do solemnly promise, that I will
 “ observe the canons and decrees of the coun-
 “ cils, and will keep and maintain particularly
 “ the rights and privileges belonging to the
 “ provincial church of Rheims : all which with
 “ my mouth I sincerely confess, and with my
 “ hand I cordially subscribe.”

After some other forms, the meeting was adjourned for two days. On the day appointed by decree of adjournment, the bishop was solemnly ordained, after various forms of worship, by imposition of hands, by benediction, by putting the mitre on his head, the ring on his finger, and the pastoral staff in his hand ; and having saluted him with the holy kiss, they led him to the seat destined to his rank. Some passages of the Epistle to Timothy were read to him, the bishops present subscribed the act of his ordination, high mass was performed, he was presented to the clergy and people of his diocese, and the whole was concluded by his performing high mass, assisted by the bishops of the province ; or, if simply a bishop, by the presbyters and deacons of the diocese.

The duties of the bishop were both of a spi- His duties:
 ritual and temporal nature. He presided in the services of religion in his own church, or deputed others in his room. He watched over the clergy of his diocese, as their spiritual father and judge ; their qualifications were submitted to him, and their privileges were derived from him. In a word, he was the ecclesiastical ruler in his own see. But an appeal was competent from

from his court to the metropolitan, and ultimately to the pope. It was incumbent on him also to take care that the clergy subordinate to him were provided with sufficient and proper means of subsistence: that the churches were duly repaired and maintained, illuminated and ornamented: that hospitality was generously exercised, and that the poor were not neglected: that the quota of troops required by the state from his diocese were furnished, and fitly provided as necessary according to law: and generally that there were no dilapidations of the church-revenues, nor any usurpation of ecclesiastical privileges¹⁷.

The choreveques, or assistant bishops.

The choreveques, chorepiscopi, or country-bishops, were priests to whom the bishops in large dioceses, or for their own ease, committed the charge of certain districts, of considerable towns, or of particular occasional functions. It was always understood, however, that they had no power nor authority above that of an ordinary priest, but by special delegation. Yet they appear to have often usurped episcopal authority, and to have introduced such irregularity as required the interposition of both papal authority and ecclesiastical councils to restrain and moderate them. Their name and office disappeared in the tenth century¹⁸.

¹⁷ Biblioth. Patrum, tom. ii. p. 605. Dialog. de Statu Eccles. p. 612—615.

¹⁸ Acta Concilior. vol. iv. p. 948—950. Concil. Meld. ibid. p. 1491.

The inferior priests, and other ecclesiastical officers, continued nearly the same in every respect as they are represented in the preceding volume. They were frequently neglected indeed, or oppressed, by their superiors. By a capitulary of Charles the Bald, enacted at Thoulouse A. D. 844, the bishops are prohibited from multiplying their parishes unnecessarily, and from visiting them oftener than once a-year, with a view to levy dues in name of the expences of visitation.

*Inferior
priests.*

The dues to which they were entitled from each parish on this account yearly, were one modus of corn, one of barley, and one of wine, being the legal and ordinary measure of the country¹⁹; a calf, lamb, or pig, of the value of six deniers; or if they preferred it, two solidi in deniers for the whole²⁰.

The bishops were not merely disposed to oppress their inferior churchmen; they aimed at an ascendancy over all civil ranks and authority. They encouraged appeals from every quarter to their jurisdiction; and they claimed a right of jurisdiction over all persons, things, and actions, which by any association might be connected with religion or the church. The contentions of the nobles, and the weakness and wars of the princes and emperors, furnished

*Ambition
of the
clergy.*

¹⁹ A modus was 2640 lbs. of corn, 300 pints of wine. It varied in different districts. See vol. i. p. 501. and Duchesne, voc. Modius.

²⁰ Acta Concil. vol. iv. p. 1458.

them

them with too many pretexts for extending and confirming this claim.

They subjected Lewis the Mild to discipline, or they absolved him : they degraded him from the rank of emperor, and they replaced him on his throne. They readily accepted the reference which was made to them by his sons Lewis and Charles, and after solemn deliberation conferred on them the dominions of Lothaire, which these princes had conquered from him with dreadful bloodshed in the battle of Fontenoy. Yet even this sovereignty already so acquired they would not grant, until these princes publicly declared that they would exercise it, not as Lothaire had done, but according to the will of God. In that long epistle written and sent by the synod of Quiercy to Lewis king of Germany²¹, they assume a tone and authority scarcely suitable from a master to a disorderly servant. They charge him in a declamatory style with crimes the most aggravated, chiefly against the church, committed either directly by himself, or more indirectly by the lords of his kingdom, whom, they say, he ought to have restrained, and by the partiality and injustice of those judges and commissaries to whom was entrusted the administration of the laws. "Bring these men," said they, "before their bishops ; compel them to humble themselves in their presence, that they may be subjected to discipline, and obtain repentance. Take our advice," they add, in answer to his command, "to assemble

²¹ Acta Concil. tom. v. p. 466—478.

" in

“ in council at Rheims, and when a convenient time shall arrive for such a council, we will not now meet you, but then may offer you farther our best counsel.” In a word, they excommunicated him, and resolved that they would never absolve him, till he should acknowledge his guilt, and shew the sincerity of his penitence.

Lewis maintained some dignity, but his younger brother Charles the Bald, at the same time, in the council of Savoniere submitted himself tamely to the judgment of the clergy, whether he should be actually deposed by them or not²².

The extreme weakness of the civil government, and the arbitrary power of the church, cannot be better illustrated than by a short statement of the disorderly and lawless conduct of Hincmar bishop of Laon. He was the nephew and disciple of Hincmar archbishop of Rheims, who spared no labour or influence in carrying on his education, and promoting his interest. He introduced him to court, where he was employed, being a man of talents and address, in several affairs of importance, both foreign and domestic: he procured for him the bishopric of Laon, being within the bounds of his own church, in the province of Rheims.

Character
and con-
duct of
Hincmar
bishop of
Laon.

²² Libellus Proclamat. Domini Caroli Regis in Act. Concil. tom. v. p. 437. See also the opinion of Fleury to the same effect, Hist. Eccles. tom. xi. p. 638, 639.

So much attention and paternal kindness produced for some time a becoming gratitude and reciprocal affection. He respected his uncle, and zealously promoted his measures : but the natural temper of neither uncle nor nephew appears very mild and accommodating ; the former was imperious, and the latter was not submissive and humble. Having obtained court favour, the bishop of Laon accepted an office in the palace, and an abbey in another province, contrary to the canon law, and without consulting his uncle and metropolitan the archbishop of Rheims. He refused to attend the synods to which he was summoned, for he was afraid to meet his uncle, or to submit to any interrogations or discipline. His disregard and fear rose to prejudice and resentment. He favoured and admitted to communion those whom his metropolitan and his friends had excommunicated ; and others whom they favoured, he excommunicated. He proceeded to asperse his uncle's character, to treat him with personal disrespect, to revile, and even to threaten him. He next directed his turbulent spirit against the civil government.

Charles the Bald had conferred the ecclesiastical lordship of Pouilly, in the diocese of Laon, on a baron named Nortmannus. Hincmar the bishop recalled this grant, as affecting his benefice. Nortmannus, refusing to relinquish it, was excommunicated by him, and forcibly driven out of his possession. He was farther accused by the bishop to the pope, as a sacrilegious robber

robber of the church. The pope, always eager to interfere in the affairs of France, issued a mandate to the uncle the archbishop of Rheims, requiring him to excommunicate this lay-offender. The archbishop, conscious that this requisition was unjust, refused to execute it. Charles the king approved and supported the elder Hincmar, against his nephew and the pope. The bishop of Laon reclaimed, and brought the subject again to Rome, charging both the king and the archbishop with contempt of the authority of the holy see. In his rage, he excommunicated the clergy of his own diocese, for some disaffection shewn him. The sentence of excommunication was contravened by their metropolitan, by whose authority they were restored to their privileges.

With a view to subdue this spirit and compose these differences, the king assembled the council of Pistæ, a place now unknown, which the bishop of Laon, though summoned, would not attend. His bishopric and revenues were seized by royal authority: but his uncle now interposed as metropolitan; and having insisted that it was illegal for the king to seize, or at all to touch, ecclesiastical persons or property, the matter was submitted by both parties to be decided by an ecclesiastical assembly. The synod of Verbery was convoked in May 869 for this purpose. The younger Hincmar attended; and, finding the current of opinions running against him, appealed to Rome. Being prevented by the king from leaving his diocese to

prosecute his appeal, he took revenge, by excommunicating the whole people of Laon, interdicting the exercise of every religious function: infants remained unbaptized, the churches were shut, the dead were unburied. The archbishop of Rheims countermanded this interdict, and enjoined the clergy to discharge their duty: the bishop, his nephew, commanded their obedience to their immediate superior; and it is no wonder that the country was distracted.

Pope Adrian, who appears to have been not only, like all his predecessors, desirous of ruling the church of France, but of humbling particularly the archbishop of Rheims, was always ready to listen to any one who appealed to him against that metropolitan, either for counsel or aid; and though he could not be ignorant of the character of the younger Hincmar, yet he encouraged and supported him in his rebellion against both church and state. He wrote to the king, requiring him to allow the bishop of Laon to attend his duty at Rome; and he ordained the metropolitan to take charge of his diocese in his absence, and to see that it suffered no dilapidation nor injury from either prince or people. An assembly was held at Douzi A. D. 871, which the king and both Hincmars attended. The bishop of Laon was charged with ecclesiastical disobedience and with civil rebellion. The trial was tedious, but he was finally and unanimously condemned and deposed. Restless and vengeful, he was still moving sedition, when the king judged it necessary to

to banish him, to cast him into prison, to load him with fetters, and inhumanly to put out his eyes. On the death of Charles the Bald, pope John VIII. came into France, and, two years after this disgrace and punishment, restored this degraded bishop, in the assembly of Troyes, not to his see, which was thought improper, but to the communion of the church, and to the exercise of some ecclesiastical functions; and with the consent of the king, Lewis the Stammerer, he was allowed an annuity out of the revenues of the church of Laon. He died A.D. 882²³. These facts shew the distracted state of the church, the power of a single bishop to vex and disturb both church and state, the officious spirit of the pope, the deficiency of civil and ecclesiastical law, and the general weakness of government.

The revenue of the clergy remained the same in kind as in the preceding ages; but continued, through ecclesiastical policy, to be daily augmented. The tithes, which at first were paid voluntarily and partially, were now claimed as a right, and universally demanded. They were payable not merely for land, but for its produce; and in proportion always to the cul-

Revenues
of the
church.

Tithes.

²³ Opuscul. Hincmari. Acta Concilior. vol. v. Cave, Hist. Lit. vol. ii. p. 43.

ture and improvement²⁴. The council of Tribur near Mayence, A. D. 895, not only enforces the payment of tithes, but states the principle on which they ought to be paid faithfully : “ All things are God’s : he gives nine parts to men, and reserves the tenth to himself, for the maintenance of his church and ministers. The faithful payment of them, therefore, is first a right and debt due to the church ; it is next a proper expression of homage and regard, essential to the Christian character ; and it is necessary that they who serve at the altar should be duly supported, that they may be free from worldly labour and care.” These funds, it is added, ought to be divided into four parts ; that one should belong to the bishop, a second to the other clergy, a third to the poor, and the fourth to maintain the public buildings and other expences of the church²⁵.

Donations
and legacies.

Donations, legacies, and mortifications of land and other property, formed a continual accession of ecclesiastical revenue. Nothing of a general nature contributed to this, more than the apprehension, towards the close of the tenth century, that the consummation of all things was at hand. This opinion was founded on Rev. xx. 2—4. “ And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the devil,

²⁴ “ Volumus atque jubemus, ut de omni conlaborato, & de vino & fœno, fideliter & pleniter ab omnibus nona & decima perfolvatur : de nutrime verò decima.” Capitul. Ludov. Pii, lib. ii.

²⁵ Acta Concilior. vol. vi. part i. p. 443. edit. Paris, 1714.

“ and

" and Satan, and bound him a thousand years,
 " and cast him into the bottomless-pit, and
 " shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that
 " he should deceive the nations no more, till
 " the *thousand* years should be fulfilled, and
 " after that he must be loosed a little season.
 " And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them,
 " and judgment was given unto them," &c.

From these words, some of the clergy, in their ignorance and simplicity, and others, carried along by the popular current, taught that the end of the world was at hand, that antichrist was about to be previously and for a short time revealed, and that then the general judgment would take place²⁶. The consternation was universal: pleasure, business, and property were abandoned: any remarkable phenomenon, as an eclipse, seemed the certain forerunner of the awful dissolution of nature. Many were easily persuaded, by the more knowing and crafty, to convey their property to the church, and by such a sacrifice to secure the remission of their sins, and an inheritance among the just: others, of their own accord, testified their indifference to this world, and their hope of a better, by divesting themselves of the most valuable property, which they gave to the church: and some, who had nothing else to bestow, subjected themselves to servitude to the clergy, thinking it more safe and honourable, on Christ's appearance, of which they had no doubt, to be found among his servants, and already attached

²⁶ Abbo adversus Arnulph. Cod. Canon. Eccles. Rom. p. 401.

to his possession. The same apprehension, though not to the same height of frenzy, had seized many in former ages. Among the forms of writs preserved by Marculfus, we find conveyances to this effect: "Considering the near approach of the dissolution of the world, and the importance of being prepared with a composed mind to meet that awful event: Wherefore, in the name of God, I and my spouse, trusting in the mercy and remuneration of him who hath said, *Give alms of what you possess, and behold all things are your's*, we give, grant, and convey for ever, &c. &c. And if any one of our heirs (which we trust will not happen) should attempt to contravene and frustrate this our intention and donation, let him be forthwith excommunicated, and delivered over to the society of Judas, the betrayer of our Lord."

Perquisites.

The church and the clergy personally derived other considerable revenues from the particular services which they performed, and privileges which they conferred. The very prohibition, in certain cases, to ask money for burial, but to receive it only when offered; and the prohibition to receive anything, either money or presents, directly for the holy oil used in baptism, confirmation, and extreme unction; shew that gifts and offerings were customary, and no inconsiderable source of ecclesiastical revenue."

"²⁷ Marculfi Monachi Formul. lib. ii. 3. "Mundi terminum ruinis crebrescentibus appropinquantem indicia certa manifestant," &c.

"²⁸ Concil. Meldenf. A. D. 845. in Aët. Concilior. vol. iv. p. 1491—1496. art. 45. 63. 72.

Reliques.

Reliques especially formed a fund which seemed then inexhaustible. This subject, which was illustrated at considerable length in the preceding volume, admits now but of few additional facts. The attention of more ancient and popular saints being supposed to be too much engrossed, new ones were introduced who were supposed to have more leisure and condescension. New churches were dedicated to them; and their bodies, bones, coffins, or any part of them, were transported to them with the greatest pomp and solemnity. It frequently forms the most eminent act in the life of a bishop, or in the reign of a king, that he assisted in transporting the bones of some popular monk from one corner of a province to another. In these times of gross ignorance, it seemed necessary that every man should enjoy the patronage of some saint, as the means of his access to Jesus Christ and to God, and as the ordinary source of his safety and consolation. Jesus Christ, indeed, was comparatively little mentioned, and God the Father seemed to be almost totally forgotten.

Canonization.

It became necessary to restrain this frenzy, and to decree that no person should be held a saint, nor entitled to any regard as such, until he was formally admitted to that honour, and publicly declared worthy of it by the bishop in a provincial council. For some time, this considerably augmented the patronage and influence of the bishops; but it was covered, and at last seized, as an important privilege, by the popes.

Udalric,

Udalric, born A. D. 893, of a noble family, educated as a monk in the abbey of St. Gall, ordained bishop of Augsburg A. D. 925, and who died A. D. 973, was the first found on record who was formally canonized as a saint. There seems nothing of a positive nature remarkable in his life, on account of which he deserved that honour. He had been successful, indeed, in defending his episcopal city against the Huns. He was extremely assiduous in religious exercises, rigid in observing the rules of his order, and appears to have been inoffensive and blameless. Twenty years after his death, the church of Rome, desirous of engrossing this power of saint-making, and of reducing it to a precise form, assembled in the palace of the Lateran for the purpose. Luitolphus, one of the successors of Udalric, or Ulric, and who visited Rome on this occasion and for this purpose, rose in the council, read the life of Ulric, and moved that he should be admitted canonically, or be canonized, as a saint. The council, considering his life, his miracles, and their own power, expressed in these words of scripture, "he that receiveth you, receiveth me;" and farther considering the great utility, and consolation arising from the mediation of saints; did set apart the said Udalric, of venerable memory, as a saint, to be honoured with divine worship²⁹.

Besides the canonization of domestic friends, pilgrimages were undertaken in quest of foreign saints, canonized by fame, rather than by statute. These pilgrimages to Palestine, where holy re-

²⁹ Acta Concilior. vol. vi. p. 727.

liques chiefly abounded, rendered the donation of the cities in that country to Charlemagne so precious and acceptable ; and were afterwards the occasion of those immense armies, which, under the name of crusades, were poured, by the united kingdoms of Europe, upon Asia.

These sources of ecclesiastical revenue were sometimes drained, and generally much disordered, by domestic feuds and civil wars ; and especially by the invasions and oppressions of the Saracens and Normans. In the council of Thionville, A.D. 844, the three princes, Lothaire, Lewis, and Charles, solemnly agreed to unite more cordially together for the sake of the country and of the church, which had suffered extremely by their hostilities ; to supply the episcopal sees still remaining vacant, on the same account ; to restore to their respective stations and offices the bishops and abbots who had been driven away ; to secure the church against the alienation of her property and diminution of her revenue, and especially on the pretext of maintaining the state, and supporting the expence of war.

These engagements, however, we know, did not cement their affections, nor secure the country and the church against their depredations. The Normans, finally settled in Normandy, ceased to disquiet and distract the kingdom ; yet from the imbecillity of the Carlovingian kings, from the over-grown power of the nobles, from the various feudal disorders, not yet restrained by systematic rules, and from continual private wars,
arising

arising often from the slightest personal resentments and animosities, the revenues of particular churches suffered greatly, while the ecclesiastical funds in general were continually augmenting.

The sovereign sometimes attempted to seize the church-lands, or to interfere with the disposal of them; but he was firmly resisted by the clergy, and obliged to relinquish them. Complaints being lodged with Charles the Bald against Hincmar bishop of Laon, the former summoned the latter before him, and, on the summons being disregarded, seized the lands of Laon within his kingdom. But in the assembly of Pistæ immediately thereafter, on a representation by the archbishop of Rheims, that the king had injuriously usurped ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and had robbed the church of her property, Charles admitted that he was wrong, and relinquished both the authority which he claimed, and the property which he had seized.

Church
feudalities.

It appears, from the complaints stated against the bishop, and the representations made by his uncle in his favour, that the clergy were accustomed not only to hold their church-lands as benefices dependent on the crown, or some feudal lord; but to confer their church-lands as benefices on subordinate vassals of the church. From the first of these, they struggled to be emancipated. The synod of Quiercy alleged, that Charles Martel was the first to violate the authority of the church over crown-property,
and

and on that account was suffering eternal torment ³⁰.

The church was studious, not only to defend her property, but to secure and protect her ministers. They were not subject to the jurisdiction of any civil court. No inferior officer was allowed to accuse his superior. Seven witnesses were required to convict any ecclesiastical person subordinate to a deacon. Thirty-six were requisite to convict him; and forty-four to convict a presbyter, or priest ³¹. No man of ordinary prudence, or of any cunning, would commit a transgression, or be guilty of a crime, before so many witnesses; and therefore his condemnation in most cases was impossible.

Abbeys and monasteries, the origin and nature of which have been already described in the preceding volume, were become extremely numerous. Every wealthy person was taught to believe that he might redeem himself from the guilt and punishment of sin, by erecting and endowing them, or by adding, according to his ability, somewhat to the funds of those already established. A monastery was considered as the vestibule of Heaven, and a monk as already secure of all the privileges and

Monastic institutions.

³⁰ Acta Concilior. A. D. 858. tit. 7. Opusc. Hincmari, de Statu Eccles. in vol. ii. Biblioth. Patrum, p. 615, 616.

³¹ Acta Concilior. vol. iv. p. 1212.

enjoy-

enjoyments of that blessed state. To die in the profession and habit of a monk, and within the walls of a monastery, was therefore the final aim of those who, from their rank and influence, might presume to aspire to it. Lothaire the emperor thus supposed that he expiated all his sins, and assured himself of future happiness, by assuming the monastic habit a few days, and dying in the monastery of Prum. It can be no wonder then, that new monastic erections were frequent, and that they were richly endowed.

Some of them were bound by the writs of endowment, like feudal lordships, to military service; and the abbot was required to lead his own vassals to the field. These vassals were the tenants and servants of the abbey-lands.

Some were exempted from military service, but were bound to pay a certain sum to the superior, whether to the prince, or to a subject; and others were only required to offer prayers and masses for their lord paramount ³².

Disorders having arisen from the difference of rules in different monasteries over the kingdom, the assembly of Aix la Chapelle, A. D. 817, ordained one rule for them all, in order to promote and maintain uniformity. It was drawn up chiefly by Benedict of Aniana.

³² Acta Concil. vol. iv. p. 1234. By this ordinance at Aix, A. D. 817, it appears that fourteen monasteries owed actual service, sixteen contributions, and eighteen prayers only, for the emperor and the state.

He was of Gothic descent, son of count-de Maguelone, and was born about the year 750. In an early period of his life he was cup-bearer to Pepin; but he resolved to quit the world, and spent three years in retirement and severe discipline. In the year 774, he entered the monastery of St. Seine. He carried his austerities at first to such excess, that he became to the other monks an object of scorn. Moderating this singularity, he secured their respect and veneration so much, that they chose him for their abbot. This situation, as too elevated and luxurious, he relinquished for one more private, where he might enjoy extreme poverty and abstinence. He could not be hid. Many admired, and were desirous to imitate his mortifications. Many from pity, and for the sake of the piety and intercessions of their monks, contributed liberally to their wants. A new monastery arose under the auspices of Benedict, which was occupied by a thousand of his disciples: besides many of inferior size, detached from monasteries in different places, for superintending their lands and rents, which afterwards received the name of priories.

Benedict of
Aniana
reforms
them.

His fame reached the emperor Lewis, who after the death of Charlemagne requested his attendance at court, and his assistance particularly in reforming the monasteries of the kingdom. Though they all professed to observe the rule of St. Benedict of Nursia, yet the variations were so frequent and great that it seemed necessary to reform them.

The

The new rule of Benedict of Aniana, adopted and ordained by the assembly of Aix la Chapelle, was more severe than that of St. Benedict, chiefly in respect of food and clothing. It prescribed two meals on festival occasions only, during four days of which fowls were to be allowed, viz. at Christmas and Easter, but at no other season of the year. They were allowed no fruit, herbs, or any thing betwixt meals. They had a little butter, or animal fat, except on Friday, one week before Christmas, and six weeks before Easter. Their bread was weighed, to each eighteen ounces leaven, or sixteen when baked, valued at thirty sols twelve deniers a day : and for the same time a hemina of wine, or in situations where wine was not to be gotten, two hemina of beer ; but on holy Friday, they ate nothing but bread and water.

They were allowed in clothing each two shirts, of thin woollen serge, (for they used no linen,) two coats, two cowls for the house, and two copes or caps with which to go abroad ; two pair of breeches ; two pair of shoes and slippers ; gloves in summer, and mittens in winter ; besides a frock, or gown, which might even be furred. This dress was far more abundant and pleasing than that prescribed by St. Benedict, and must have been comfortable to those more advanced in life, in the colder seasons and regions ³³.

They

³³ In some monasteries afterwards, each monk received his allowance not in kind, but in money, which being called

They were shaved regularly every day, but Friday and Sunday, and during Lent. They were permitted to bathe, at the discretion of the abbot; and were not blooded, but when necessary, on account of indisposition.—In other respects, the rule of St. Benedict was generally observed ²⁴.

Monasteries continued to be the refuge of the Schools. learned, and the seminaries of education. Every young man, whose parents had any influence, wealth, or desire of letters, was sent to a monastery; where, in his tender years, along with whatever other knowledge he acquired, he imbibed, in their full strength, the principles and habits of fanaticism and monkish superstition. Or if he chanced to discern in any part the folly and inconsistency of these rules, he was in danger of totally rejecting religion with contempt and indignation, as the same thing with superstition.

From these schools the church derived all its ministers, and the state its principal counsellors. It was of importance, therefore, that both church and state should encourage and promote them; and we find accordingly, that they were frequently the subjects of deliberation in the councils of the nation. Lewis wanted not pious zeal to maintain these useful institutions of his father Charlemagne. The Capitularies shew his attention to

called his prebend, this word came to denote the place or station of a monk belonging to, and paid by, a cathedral church.

²⁴ Acta Concil. vol. iv. p. 1229—1235.

them³⁵. But the ignorance and turbulence of the times, the indolence of human nature, and its uniform tendency, without exertion and culture, to degenerate, presented continual obstacles to the best wishes and endeavours of the most zealous. The bishops were often negligent, at their visitations, to enquire after them; and the teachers, having no external stimulus to prompt their diligence, no fee to expect, no competition to regard, no anxious parent whose respect and patronage they were solicitous to obtain, were liable to become careless and indifferent. In order to remedy this as far as was practicable, the sixth council of Paris, A. D. 829, ordained that the rectors of these schools should, every one of them, with all their scholars, attend the provincial synods, which generally meet twice a year, in order that, on examination, it might appear that they were faithful, and successful in the education and discipline of the youth committed to their charge³⁶. The same council recommended it to the emperor, to institute three public schools, in three several parts of the kingdom which should appear the most suitable and convenient³⁷. The councils of Valence, of Favoniere, &c. afterwards seemed in earnest to accomplish the same end, that the church might be always duly supplied with men of sufficient learning. But the use and design of schools seem to be altogether confined to this end. The very frequency of the recommendations and canons respecting

³⁵ Capitul. lib. ii. tit. 5. Council of Valence, 855. Canon 18th. Few councils were held without paying some attention to the schools.

³⁶ Acta Concil. vol. iv. p. 1316. ³⁷ Ibid. p. 1356.

them,

them, shews that they were running into neglect; and the idea seems scarcely ever to have occurred, to extend the advantages of common education to the vulgar. On the contrary, it became the policy of the church of Rome, to deny that privilege to the common people, as unprofitable to them, and dangerous to the Roman hierarchy. So early as the year 879, we find the pope prohibiting the celebration of the mass in Sclavonia in the vulgar tongue of that country: "You may preach to the people," said he, "in their mother-tongue; but in the more solemn exercises of worship, I require you to use the Latin or Greek only, as is the practice in every church of the world³³."

The multiplication of saints and reliques of course increased the number and variety of religious rites and ceremonies. The sculpture on the building, the paintings on the altar, the various circumstances in the priestly dress, and the conduct of the worship, were accommodated to the country, the temper, and manners, of the saint supposed to patronise the particular church dedicated to him. Some saints might be thought more austere than others, but all of them were understood to be pleased with outward pomp

Ecclesiastical ceremonies,

³³ On which epistle and injunction, M. Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 451, remarks, that this pope, John viii. was probably ignorant that the Syrians, Egyptians, and Armenians, always performed all the services of religion in their mother-tongue.

and decoration. In conformity to the general taste, originally derived from Jews and Heathens, now consecrated and established by custom, the simple ordinances of the Gospel were covered with a gaudy drapery, which misrepresented and disfigured them; or, rather, the ceremonies attached to them were so numerous and glaring, that the ordinances themselves were overlooked and forgotten.

In place of the entire scriptures of the Old and New Testament, Heiton bishop of Basle, whom we may consider as a prominent example of the ninth century, prescribed a rule for the clergy of his diocese, to shew that they were qualified for their sacred office, viz. That they should be acquainted with, or be able merely to repeat³⁹, the Lord's prayer and the Creed, both in Latin and German; that they and the people both should learn to give the responses suitably, and with a harmonious voice; that the creed of St. Athanasius should be committed to memory, and repeated by the priests very early every Sabbath-day; that they should be furnished with a mass-book, a lectionarium, or book of lessons, a response book, a form for baptisms, a kalendar, a penitential-book, a psalter, and homilies for every Sabbath and festival of the year.

To have these books only, and to be able to read them, were the requisite qualifications of a

³⁹ The words of the Capitulary are, "ab omnibus discatur;" which may mean, either shall be read or repeated; *understood*, seems out of the question. Acta Concil. vol. iv. p. 1241.

priest.

priest⁴⁰. The people were never supposed either to have books, or to be capable of reading them.

The abuse and disfiguration of baptism having begun at an early period, could not properly be ascribed to this age ; yet it may be satisfactory to know the ritual circumstances which were at this time attached to it.

In cases, as it is said, of necessity, it might be administered by any person, even by a female ; and at any time, even before the child was born⁴¹. But in ordinary circumstances, the previous and accompanying ceremonies of baptism were numerous and solemn. The candidate having passed through many ceremonies as a catechumen, was declared competent, or qualified for baptism. Salt was applied to his mouth, as the sign of an excited desire of baptismal water : he was then exorcised, or purified from all demoniacal and magical influence : he was breathed on, in token of his receiving the Holy Ghost, the principle of spiritual and eternal life : his nose and ears were anointed with spittle, in imitation of our Saviour's anointing the blind man's eyes with clay and spittle, when he gave him sight : the candidate's breast and shoulders were anointed with oil, the symbol of protection against temptation on the one hand, and of enduring patiently every trial on the other : he verbally re-

At Baptism.

⁴⁰ " Quæ ipsi sacerdotibus necessaria sunt ad discendum." Ibid.

⁴¹ Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. x. p. 478.

nounced the devil, the world, and the flesh : the apostle's creed was delivered to him : he was led into the water, and three times immersed, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost : on coming out of the water, he was clothed with white raiment : his head was anointed with the sacred chrism, significant of spiritual affections, and covered with the mystic veil, the emblem of the heavenly crown ; and, finally, he was confirmed by the solemn imposition of the bishop's hands ⁴².

With all this attention to ceremonies, we observe a laudable zeal for the instruction of candidates, and for correcting several improprieties which attended the administration of this ordinance. But the sixth council of Paris, A. D. 829, acknowledged at the same time the difficulty of accomplishing any reformation, considering the deplorable ignorance of both priests and people, of which, they added, there was no doubt.

At the
Lord's
Supper.

The other gospel sacrament, our Lord's Supper, began probably about or before this age to be mutilated and disfigured, though it attained not the completion of its corruption till the twelfth or thirteenth century. Being accustomed sometimes to dip the bread simply in the wine, and at other times being allowed to carry it home with them, which was not convenient if wet at all, the wine was gradually neglected,

⁴² Jesse Ambianensis Epistola, in Biblioth. Patrum, tom. ii. p. 617—664.

and

and at last withdrawn as unnecessary in this ordinance.

In the mean time, the utmost veneration was shewn to the bread after the prayer of consecration. Even they who had no idea of their language being ever abused, spoke of it in terms which were certainly capable of misinterpretation. We have reason to think that so early as the time of Gregory the Great in the sixth century, opinions were entertained somewhat resembling those which were so long afterwards avowed in the doctrine of transubstantiation. That eminent pope, having given the eucharist to a woman accompanied with these words, "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul," she smiled; for the bread happened to be part of her own oblation, as usual in those times; and on being interrogated as to the reason of her laughing, she said, "It was because he had called that 'the body of Christ, which she had baked with 'her own hands'⁴³."

The doctrine was certainly not generally adopted in the ninth century, though it was advancing rapidly into form and substance. Charles the Bald proposed it as a doubt to be solved by Ratram, whether any change was really produced on the bread by consecration. Ratram admitted a change, but denied that the bread became the very body which was born of the virgin, and which was crucified and buried. Hincmar seems to have believed the real presence; Pas-

⁴³ Gregor. Vita, lib. ii. c. 41.

chasius avowed it, and almost every writer on the subject in this age entertained some difference of opinion concerning it ⁴⁴.

In proportion as the faith of the real presence was established, the ordinary oblation, bread, was withdrawn, the unleavened cake, or wafer, was substituted, and a kind of adoration was offered to it, as to the person of the Son of God. Virtues innumerable were ascribed to it, and to the prayers and whole service attending its celebration. It was considered as a sacrifice offered to God, which secured blessings to any one, dead or living, on whose account it was celebrated. Masses, that is, the celebration of the eucharist, with certain ceremonies, were purchased; their price was understood and settled; the ceremonies to be performed at each of them were regulated; attempts to abridge the ceremonies, or to thrust several masses into one general form, was strictly prohibited: they were commanded to be performed, not in private houses and gardens, but in places duly consecrated by a bishop ⁴⁵.

Mass.

The number of masses performed on some occasions, is almost incredible. At the meeting of the council of Mayence, A. D. 847, the members of it fasted three days, during which they had also many processions, in order to conciliate the divine favour on their meeting: and they ordered three thousand masses to be cele-

⁴⁴ Dupin, 9th Century, ch. 7. Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. x. p. 649.

⁴⁵ Sixth Council of Paris. Acta Concil. A. D. 829.

brated

brated in every parish, for the king, the queen, and royal family ⁴⁶.

It would be endless to describe, and even to notice, the various festivals ⁴⁷, rites, and ceremonies, instituted almost every year. Their objects became also more numerous. They were instituted, not only in honour of the Virgin Mary, and of particular saints, but of all saints, and of all departed souls. Lighted lamps and candles became a mark of distinction; and the number of them at the altar and in the church, was regulated in proportion to the eminence of the saint, or the solemnity of the occasion. Aldric bishop of Mans ordained, that in his cathedral there should be fifteen lights, ten of oil and five of wax, every night; on Sundays, thirty of oil, and five of wax; and on more solemn occasions an hundred, ninety of oil, and ten of wax. If the austere Aldric was so profuse, how much more luminous would other churches be, whose funds were more rich, and whose bishops were more liberal?

The forms and ceremonies which had been gradually attached to the duty and exercise of repentance, were equally numerous and absurd. It is itself a change of mind and of conduct, produced by shame, fear, sorrow, or other principles of our nature, excited, strengthened, and maintained by the doctrines and grace of the gospel, and may be cherished and cultivated, either secretly or by public acknowledgment

At penitence;

⁴⁶ Sixth Council of Paris. Acta Concil. A. D. 847.

⁴⁷ Capitul. Ludov. Pii, lib. ii. c. 35.

and

and declaration, according to the nature or occasion of the offence repented of. From various causes, however, from a serious detestation of vice, from affected sanctity, from imprudent zeal, from ignorance and superstition, one rite was added after another, from the earliest ages, till the maxims of the fathers and the canons of the church concerning it became too numerous to be either generally known or readily remembered. Halitgar, a famous canonist of the ninth century, was persuaded by Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, to collect and arrange them, which he did in six books. In the two first, he treats of vice and virtue in general, and of the means of correcting the one and promoting the other. The third contains the rules of penitence, which had been collected and adopted in the age of Charlemagne. The fourth describes the nature of the penitence, to which the laity, and the fifth, that to which the clergy, were subjected, according to the canons, the papal decretals, and the collections of Martin of Prague. The sixth he collected from the records of the church of Rome, and which merits a more particular attention.

It requires not only the candidates for absolution themselves to fast a week or two, previous to all other discipline, but that the priest to whom they apply shall fast with them. They who could not fast might purchase an exemption, at a price proportioned to their wealth. It is unnecessary to state the forms, prayers, and appearances, which were observed as preliminary steps towards the judgment and sentence which prescribed

prescribed the punishment. For voluntary homicide, a layman was condemned to seven years', a priest to ten years', penitence; during three years of which he was ordained to live on bread and water. For the murder of a priest, it was still more severe, and of longer duration. For adultery, he was subjected to a state of penitence, or excommunication and mortification, for three years: for robbery, five years: for theft, to live four successive years, during Lent, on bread and water: for witchcraft, seven years: for divination, and other such superstitious practices, three years: for usury, three years: for personal injury, as any wound, forty days: for drunkenness, seven days: for a third marriage, three weeks fasting: for a fourth or fifth marriage, one-and-twenty weeks⁴⁴.

Persons under penitence were held incapable of carrying arms, of exercising any judicial or civil function, or even of paying or receiving any visit. They were declared unworthy of extreme unction, of being married, or of enjoying any privilege, civil or sacred, of a public nature, or which required, in conferring it, the intervention of another person.

Such as would not submit to penitence, on being guilty of any public scandal, were excommunicated; and the bishop only could pro-

⁴⁴ In Coll. Canifii, tom. v.

nounce the sentence of excommunication or absolution ⁴⁹.

Excommu-
nication.

The denunciation of the sentence of excommunication was always accompanied with every circumstance of horror. The murderers of Foulques, archbishop of Rheims, A. D. 900, for example, were declared to be deprived of all church-privileges, and were loaded with all the anathemas and maledictions which could be found in the scriptures and ecclesiastical canons. Christians were prohibited from saluting them; priests from celebrating mass in their presence, from receiving their confession, though sick and dying, without due repentance; from granting them communion; and when dead, from allowing them burial. In finishing these maledictions, the twelve prelates who were present threw the lamps which they held in their hands to the ground, and so extinguished them ⁵⁰.

⁴⁹ Acta Concil. Paviz, or Ticini, A. D. 850. Concil. Fribur. A. D. 895, in Acta Concil.

⁵⁰ Fleury, tom. xi. p. 629.

SECT. III.

Of Controversy.

THE doctrine and practice of the church of France respecting images, during the ninth century, continued nearly the same as it had been settled by the council of Frankfort. It was agitated in the council of Paris A. D. 824, and a correspondence took place on the subject betwixt Lewis the Mild, the pope, and Michael the emperor of Constantinople. The latter wanted to correct the abuse of images, and particularly to prevent their being adored and worshipped: he endeavoured to persuade the pope to join him in this reform; and finding that more difficult than he expected, he prevailed with Lewis to summon a council of the most learned and judicious bishops of his empire to deliberate on the subject, trusting that discussion might break the charm of superstition. The council accordingly met, and the matter was considered and debated at great length; and, on the whole, they were disposed to favour neither the zealous Iconoclasts nor Iconoduli, but to hold a middle course; neither to break nor to worship images, nor to submit to the pope's authority on that article; for he had acceded to the doctrine that they were to be worshipped; but

Image-worship.

but they resolved to adhere to the resolutions of the council of Frankfort *.

Predestina-
tion.

The doctrines of predestination and grace gave rise to warmer discussions than any other subject, about the middle especially of the ninth century; and opinions on both sides were maintained with industry and obstinacy.

The doc-
trine of
Gothescalc;

Gothescalc Fulgentius, a German by birth, and a monk of Orbais in the diocese of Soissons, was an industrious student of the fathers, and particularly of St. Augustin; a considerable part of whose works he is said to have committed to memory. His own rigid temper led him to carry Augustin's doctrine on the subject to an extreme. He believed, and taught, that the decrees of God, or his predestination of men to salvation or condemnation, interfere with and destroy the freedom of the human will. The subject itself being abstract and metaphysical, has been often misunderstood by more cultivated minds, and in times of more abundant knowledge; and no wonder that this monk, honest, but more zealous than judicious, should have misrepresented the relation which subsists between the divine government and human agency. "Either," said he, "we are predestined to life; and no conduct of ours, however sinful, can alter the will and plan of Heaven; or we are predestined to condemnation; that is, we are

* *Acta Concil. tom. iv. A. D. 824. Fleury, tom. x. p. 269—274. Dupin, Century 9th, c. 1.*

" repro-

“ reprobated, and no work of ours, however good, can avail to save us.”

Rabanus, archbishop of Mentz, wrote against this error. He asserted the wisdom, the justice, and goodness of God, and the freedom of man's will. He insisted that God doth not predestine evil, but foresees it only; whereas he both foresees and predestines good: but he so conducts the government of the world, that neither his foresight nor predestination has any necessary nor improper influence on human agency. He seems to have been shocked at the idea that God made men originally evil and incorrigible, as it were, in order to punish them for what they could not help, with eternal misery; and his antagonist appears no less offended at the doctrine; that God can foresee and permit evil, without expressing indignation and taking vengeance. In a word, the one taught predestination to evil, and the other denied it. On this hinge turned the whole controversy which occupied then so much time and talents, and which now fills so large a portion of ecclesiastical history.

of Rabanus;

The doctrine of Gothescalc was rejected by the council of Mayence, A. D. 848; and he was remitted to the immediate cognizance of Hincmar as his ecclesiastical superior. Hincmar conversed with him; but as he did not succeed in convincing him, and being himself a man of a warm and haughty temper, he summoned him to the assembly of Quiercy. Showing there the same obstinacy, and incensing his

of Hincmar archbishop of Rheims;

opponents still more by the severity of his reflections on that occasion, that assembly condemned Gothescalc as an heretic, ordained him to be degraded from the priesthood, to be beaten with rods, and to be imprisoned ².

of the
church.

The doctrine of the church, as stated in four articles by that council on this subject, is, That God omniscient predestined those whom he foresaw and chose to be his people, and to enjoy eternal life. The rest, whom he foreknew to be vicious, he did not predestine, but left to perish. That the free will, which we lost by the fall of Adam, is so far restored to Christians, that they are by grace rendered capable of righteousness; while the wicked, deserted by divine grace, are capable only of working unrighteousness. That God will have all men to be saved, though all do not accept of salvation. That Jesus Christ suffered for all: the cup of sal-

* "Frater Gotescalc, sacrosanctum sacerdotalis mysterii officium, quod irregulariter usurpasti, & in cunctis moribus, ac pravis actibus, atque perversis doctrinis eo hæcenus abuti non pertinuisti, judicio Spiritus Sancti, cujus gratiæ munus est sacerdotale officium, per virtutem sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi noveris tibi esse, si quo modo suscepisti ablatum, & ne ulterius eo fungi præsumas penitus interdictum. Insuper quia & ecclesiastica, & civilia negotia contra propositum, & nomen monachi conturbare contemnens jura ecclesiastica præsumisti, durissimis verberibus te castigari, & secundum ecclesiasticas regulas ergastulo retrudi, auctoritate episcopali decernimus; & ut de cetero doctrinale tibi officium usurpare non præsumas, perpetuum silentium ori tuo virtute æterni verbi imponimus." Acta Concil. tom. v. p. 20. A. D. 849.

vation

vation is full, but they only who drink of it can be healed³.

As soon as Remigius, the archbishop of Lyons, had received and examined these doctrines of the assembly of Quiercy, he was of opinion that they had controverted the doctrine of scripture and of the fathers. He undertook to refute them, and wrote "a Censure of the Articles of Quiercy;" or a book, proving that the truth of scripture is to be held, and the judgments of the holy fathers followed. He introduced the subject into the third council of Valence, A. D. 855, and obtained the sanction of that council to his opinions. The first six canons only relate to it, and are in substance as follows: That innovation ought to be avoided, and that the scriptures and the Latin fathers, as Cyprian, Hilary, Ambrose, Hieronymus, and Augustine, ought to be reverently and submissively regarded:—that God indeed foreknew both the good and the evil, and their consequent reward and punishment, but that his prescience of these imposed no restraint or necessity on men; the ungodly perish, not because they could not, but because they would not, be saved:—that in the choice of those who shall be saved, the mercy of God preceded their merit; but in the condemnation of the wicked, their demerit preceded his just judgment:—that Jesus Christ died for all who believe, but not for the ungodly; and they condemned the canons of Quiercy, and the opinions of Jo. Scotus, who taught the absolute and univer-

³ Acta Concil. tom. v. p. 20. A. D. 849.

sal efficacy of Christ's atonement:—that all who are baptized with water, and with the Holy Ghost, are actually freed from guilt, justification and sanctification being inseparable: yet even these, if they persevere not, shall perish; “for he only who endureth to the end shall be saved:”—and finally, that they believed in the necessity of Divine grace, in order to a holy life, according to the doctrine of scripture, and the canons of the councils of Africa and Orange.

The controversy was continued with much zeal by Hincmar, in support of the council of Quiercy, on the one hand, and by Remigius, in favour of the council of Valence, on the other; but it does not appear that the church, or any public body in France, interposed any judgment after the council of Valence⁴.

Procession
of the Holy
Ghost.

The question founded on the 14th and 16th Chapters of John's Gospel, Whether the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son, as well as from the Father? which had occupied not individuals only, but the church, in former centuries, continued still to excite general attention and zeal. The European or Latin, including the French church, maintained the affirmative, that he proceeds from both Father and Son, and had accordingly added the words “filioque,” that is, *and from the Son*, to the creed generally used by the church in public worship. This gave occasion to the eastern or Constantinopolitan

⁴ A. 9a Concil. tom. v. p. 88—91.

church,

church, already disposed to quarrel; and withdraw from the papal yoke, to accuse her rival of error and corruption. The principal writers in France on this subject, were Eneas bishop of Paris, and Ratram monk of Corbie. The treatise of the former consists of scarce a single observation of his own, but of quotations from the fathers, in support of the doctrine of the procession of the Spirit from the Son as well as from the Father. That of Ratram has more length and variety of argument. He insists that while many errors and heretics have arisen in the eastern, and especially in the Constantinopolitan church, no bishop of the Roman church had ever appeared the author of an heresy.

The council of Arles, in their profession of faith, A. D. 813⁵, and the council of Worms, A. D. 868⁶, discover considerable anxiety on the

⁵ Acta Concilior. tom. iv.

⁶ Professio episcoporum apud Wormatiensem civitatem, &c. "Confitemur & credimus sanctam atque ineffabilem Trinitatem, Patrem, et Filium, & Spiritum Sanctum, unum Deum naturaliter esse, unius substantiæ, unius naturæ, unius majestatis atque virtutis. Spiritum enim Sanctum, qui est tertia in Trinitate persona, unum atque equalem cum Deo Patre & Filio credimus esse Deum, unius substantiæ, unius quoque naturæ: nec tamen genitum vel creatum, sed a Patre, Filioque procedentem, amborum esse Spiritum. Nec enim procedit de Patre in Filium, nec de Filio tantum procedit ad sanctificandam creaturam, sed ab utroque procedere monitratur, quia caritas, sive sanctitas amborum esse agnoscitur. Et nec Patris tantum, nec Filii tantum, sed simul Patris, & Filii Spiritus dicitur. In relativis vero personarum nominibus, Pater ad Filium,

the subject, and in the canons, drawn by them with great particularity and precision, show how much it interested the church in those times.

“ lium, Filius ad Patrem, Spiritus Sanctus ad utrosque
“ refertur. Quæ cum relative tres personæ dicantur, una
“ tamen natura vel substantia creditur,” &c. &c. Acta
Concilior, tom. v. p. 736.

CHAP. III.

The History of Civil Government in France,
from the Death of Charlemagne, A. D. 814,
to the Accession of Hugh Capet, A. D. 987.

SECT. 1.

Of the Ranks of Men.

THE lowest ranks of men continued in a *Servitude*. state of servitude, as we have formerly described them^{*}, in the period which preceded the death of Charlemagne, subject to the authority, and almost entirely to the caprice and power, of their masters. Without their consent they could not change their situation nor condition; they could not move from one place of residence to another; they could not marry; they could not engage in any law-suit, nor be admitted to holy orders. But during the period which forms the subject of this Book, several causes, which had begun indeed before to operate, contributed to their emancipation and improvement.

^{*} Book I. chap. iii. vol. I.

Causes of
emancipa-
tion.

The mild and generous spirit of Christianity, in proportion as it was diffused over society, softened the tempers of men, and, in this respect, disposed them to condescension and kindness. Servitude seemed inconsistent with the faith of men's original equality, with their common privileges as Christians in their present state, and with their common hope of immortality and heavenly bliss, and particularly with the general principle of the moral law, so often inculcated, and so beautifully illustrated and exemplified in the gospel, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

The spirit of this laws of laws entered into the laws of the state, some of which appear as a commentary on its benevolent principle. "It be-
" hoves every one," it is said in one of the Capitularies of Lewis and Lothaire, "to treat his infe-
" riors with gentleness and compassion, in exact-
" ing labour, in levying debts, and in imposing
" fines: all ought to consider one another as
" brethren: all have one God and Father, to
" whom they can with equal confidence address
" themselves, saying, *Our Father who art in*
" *Heaven*: all have access to one baptism, &c."

Animated by this spirit, it appeared a becoming expression of gratitude to Heaven, in consequence of any prosperous event, of recovery from sickness, of marriage, or of childbirth; or a suitable act of devotion under

* Capitul. lib. ii. c. 41. in the collection of Ansegise.

affliction,

affliction, or under the apprehension of death, to emancipate a number of slaves proportioned to the extent of the person's property, or to the fervor of his piety³.

The increase of superstition increased the emancipation of slaves. If any of them took a monastic vow, or obtained admission to holy orders, they were of course reckoned thenceforth free. This practice, however, became too frequent to be tolerated: the church was in danger of being crowded with this baser sort of clergy; and we find many prohibitions of it in the laws both of church and state.

The general persuasion that the end of the world was approaching, induced many to emancipate their slaves, as well as generally to relinquish their earthly pursuits and property. By sacrificing all to the church and to humanity, they hoped, and in this hope they were encouraged by the clergy, that they should be more acceptable to God, and more ripe for Heaven.

Multitudes of men in this manner acquired personal liberty; yet so little did they value real freedom, that they generally remained, at least during life, attached from habit to their masters and usual situations; or they submitted anew, in

³ Marculfi Form. lib. i. 3. and ii. 32-34. Formul. Veter. viii. 13. Though these Formulas were drawn in the eighth century, yet they were intended, and actually served, as copies for the following ages. Mabillon. de Re Diplom.

order to secure subsistence and protection, to some church, monastery, or wealthy baron.

No just idea was then entertained of civil liberty, of the security arising from the wise and constant administration of just and good laws, nor of the power of the common people acting with union as one body to counteract the power of the aristocracy, oppressive equally of them and of royalty.

Freedmen
and free-
born.

Slaves and freedmen were generally the labourers and artists of the country. The free-born, and such as were ambitious of losing the memory of their former rank, after they were emancipated became soldiers. For this end they attached themselves to some baron of experience and fame in military affairs, capable both of protecting them and of leading them to war. From him they received their cottage, their little farm, or requisite provision; and him they served in matters of husbandry, or attended him as soldiers to the field of battle. Their immediate superior might be a sub-vassal; that is, one holding a comparatively small farm, or fief, of a more extensive barony; or he might be an independent or allodial proprietor.

Allodial
proprietors.

An allodial proprietor, as was formerly stated, whether his territory was great or small, held his lands, not of an individual, either lord or king, but of the nation, and to the nation only owed allegiance and military service. He was liable to be called out, not when the king's humour,

or

or private affairs or resentments; but when the great interests of the kingdom, required. If his property, however, was small and exposed, it became necessary, for the sake of protection, either to form an alliance with other allodial proprietors, or to submit to the vassalage of some feudal lord. As an ally, he continued independent, excepting in the articles expressly agreed on; but as a vassal, he became bound to homage and service, and generally to the subordination of the feudal law.

The very independence of allodialists contributed to depress them. Proud of their peculiar rank and antiquity, (for they generally traced the tenure of their lands to the gift of some ancient general assembly of the nation, and there were not now very many tenures of this kind to boast of,) they were disposed rather to hold in contempt beneficiary and feudal tenures, as an inferior kind. The least insinuation or appearance of this spirit, naturally excited jealousy, and provoked resentment. As others could exact from them no service, so neither had they reason to expect from others favour and protection. They were even jealous of any claim being made on them, or of any thing granted as a favour being construed into a right. Distant and reserved, they mingled not easily with the partisans, either of one side or another, around them. Scattered as they were over the country, it was almost impossible for them to form, or for any length of time to maintain among themselves, an extensive confederacy. Necessity thus obliged them to sacrifice pride to prudence,

Circumstances unfavourable to them.

to

to become the men or vassals of those who, though their tenure was of a more recent date, or of an inferior sort, were, from the circumstances of the times, and their more extensive territory, able to afford them protection and security.

Church-lands.

The tenures of church-lands were, like others, of different kinds. If allodial, either by original gift of the nation, or by subsequent deed of conveyance, then they were in circumstances similar to those which we have just now described; and, for the sake of security, generally preferred some feudal connection. When under feudal subordination, then they were liable, as in other cases of the same kind, to homage and service. This homage and service, however, was not always required of the bishop, nor abbot, personally; nay, they were often prohibited from personal military service, which was more generally rendered by their *avoués*, *vidames*, or *commisaires*. Hincmar complains of the military services to which he and the other clergy were liable*.

**Peerage, or
peers of
France.**

* Very different opinions having been entertained, and many dissertations written, concerning the time when, and the manner in which, the order and institution of the peers of France arose, this may be the most proper place to ob-

* “ Cum Domino nostro rege, in hoste, ex omni regno suo collectâ, contra Bretones, & Nortmannos illis conjunctos, sicut & ceteri confratres, ac sacerdotes nostri, secundum nostrarum regionum gravem consuetudinem. Cum hominibus commissæ mihi ecclesiæ perrecturus sum.” Hincmar Epistol. ad Nicol. I.

serve,

serve, that they seem to have their origin in the remotest antiquity, or in the most ordinary ideas and familiar customs of human nature and society. We naturally assimilate together things of the same kind, and place in the same rank men of like talents, property, and power. This assimilation and equality the Latins expressed by the word *pares*, which, in the progress of the Roman and French language, was readily formed into *pairs* (peers). In this sense we meet with the word so commonly, both in the Latin classics, and in the French authors of the ninth, tenth, and preceding centuries, that quotations seem unnecessary. Till a much later period, when a selection was made of twelve, to whom peculiar privileges were assigned, the word *pares* uniformly denoted men of the same rank in church and state, in a civil and military capacity. All the king's vassals, for example, whether small or great, who held their lands immediately of the crown, were peers: so were allodial proprietors, till the progress of the feudal system depressed them beneath their proper rank; and so were churchmen of the same order. The same duties were incumbent on each of the same rank; and to each of the same rank peculiar privileges belonged. Thus we find Suger, the abbot of St. Denis, in the following century addressed in a letter by his brethren of that community, as his peers³. The Capitularies describe the king's vassals, whom he might summon to arms

³ "Domino suo Sugerio beati Dionysii reverendo abbati, pares, & tota Belvacensis communia, salutem;" &c. Apud Duchesne, vol. iv. p. 519.

against

against the common enemy, by the same name⁶. And count Odo, or Eudes, speaking⁷ of counts in their civil capacity as judges, says, addressing Robert the king as his lord, that he had been assured that it was not competent for him (Eudes) to be tried, but in the presence of an assembly of his peers.

Insisting on his rank and privilege in the same epistle, he shews that the ancient distinction betwixt a fiscal benefice and an hereditary fief, was still clearly understood and jealously maintained⁸.

Benefices
and fiefs.

This distinction was already fully stated in the preceding Book and Volume. Lands conferred by the king for a certain term only, or for life, whether they were what was called fisc or public territory, or a part of the king's own domain, were held as a benefice. They were granted both as the reward of past services, and as the foundation of future obligation. Offices of the royal household, and the government of coun-

⁶ "Quicumque ex his qui beneficium principis habent
" parem suum contra hostes communes in exercitu," &c.
Capitul. lib. iii. 71, 72.

⁷ "Nec sibi competere dicebat, ut me ad tale judi-
" cium exhiberet, sine conventu parium suorum." Ful-
berti Episcopi Carnot. Epist. 42. Duchesne, vol. iv.
p. 187.

⁸ "Nam si respiciatur ad conditionem generis, daret
" Dei gratia, quod hereditabilis sim. Si ad qualitatem
" beneficii, quod mihi dedisti, constat quia non est de tuo
" fisco, sed de his quæ mihi per tuam gratiam ex ma-
" joribus hereditario jure contingunt." Id. ibid.

ties and provinces, were conferred in the same manner, and for the same end. But the more numerous these grants, and the longer they were held, the king had the fewer to bestow, and they were the more difficult to revoke. His influence of course diminished. When he had nothing else to give, he converted these temporary benefices into perpetuities, subject to the crown, but not revocable by it^o.

In many cases, these perpetuities were forced from the king, in circumstances and seasons when it would have been vain for him to have refused them.

Whether they were conferred voluntarily, or extorted, all lands and offices held by a feudal tenure were called fiefs, constituted a peculiar relation betwixt the superior and the occupier, gave rise to several important duties, formed, in a word, that vast feudal system that arose in France and over Europe, which in several kingdoms still prevails, and which, in them all, has given origin to many important institutions and laws. Feudal system.

I. The granter was always considered as the superior, or lord, of the occupant or holder. Fiefs various.

“ In tantum largus, ut antea nec in antiquis libris,
 “ nec in modernis temporibus auditum est, ut villas regias,
 “ quæ erant sui, & avi, & tritavi fidelibus suis tradidit,
 “ eas in possessiones sempiternas, & præcepta construxit,
 “ & annuli impressione, cum subscriptione manu propria
 “ roboravit.” Thegani, Opus de Gest. Lud. Pii, c. 19.

pin,

pin, Charlemagne, and their successors, were the superiors of the popes, in so far as the former had conferred on the latter the temporal dominion of Rome and Ravenna. This probably had no small influence in procuring to Charlemagne the Imperial title; as it would have been more humiliating to the bishop of Rome and the Romans, to do homage, and swear allegiance to the king of France, than to the emperor ¹⁰.

II. Fiefs were royal, when they were held immediately of the crown, and had peculiar privileges annexed to them. The holders of them were peers of the realm, members of the king's court, and subject only to that tribunal. The king was called their lord paramount, or sovereign. They were his vassals.

III. Fiefs were simple, when the vassal was bound to perform homage only, and no other service, to his lord. Such probably was the tenure of Rome and Ravenna, and such certainly was that of Normandy. The nature of this homage will be afterwards explained.

IV. Fiefs lieges formed a real and personal obligation to service. The vassal swore allegiance over the holy gospel, and solemnly en-

¹⁰ An eminent author, contrary to his own principles, alleges that the pope held these territories allodially, and not feudally. If allodially, he and the Romans would not have done homage to Charlemagne and his successors, which we know certainly they did. Craigii Jus Feud. lib. i. 9. p. 47.

gaged to serve and defend his superior, against all mortals, and with all his substance, for ever. The holder of two or more fiefs of this kind from different superiors, was exposed to many distracting inconveniencies and private wars. No deed of tenure could be so cautiously drawn, as to secure from them a person who was a vassal at the same time, as frequently happened, of Germany and of France, or of the dukes of Neustria and Normandy, &c. &c.

V. Royal fiefs were also called dominants, when they were subdivided into several parts among subordinate vassals. They were servants in respect of the crown, and dominants in respect of the vassals subject to them. These reciprocal terms descended through all the ramifications of the system; the subordinate superior was always dominant, and the inferior, servant.

VI. Arriere fiefs were the *servants*, whether high or low, in the scale of feudal subordination, who held of a subordinate chief, and owed homage and fidelity to him, yet were under obligation also, in certain circumstances, to perform military service to that chief's superior. Hence when the king issued the ban or summons to arm, it was addressed to his immediate vassals; but the arriere ban was addressed to subordinate vassals also, and to the whole people, requiring all to arm against the common enemy."

" See this subject at length, with the numerous exceptions and varieties, Craigii Jus Feudale, Lib. Feud.; but especially Traite de Fiefs, par Claude de Ferriere.

The

Duties of
the vassal.
Homage.

The duties of the vassal to his lord were,

1. Homage : that is, literally presenting himself as his man. In so doing, the vassal acknowledged his inferiority, and obligation for the fief which he held ; and swore fidelity or allegiance. This homage was usually performed by the vassal on his knees, and with his two hands betwixt the hands and knees of his superior. Thus Tassillon, duke of Bavaria, did homage to his uncle Pepin, swearing over the reliques of St. Denis, St. Germain, and St. Martin. Rollo, duke of Normandy, performed this duty to Charles the Simple, unwillingly, by a substitute. From the latter case, it appears to have been customary for the vassal to kiss the foot of his lord ; and as soon as the homage was all performed, the superior raised the vassal, and, if of due rank, kissed him ¹².

The principal manor of the superior's domain was the place where the vassals, on that occasion, were bound to attend. If the superior was not there, nor any other authorised by him, to receive the proffered homage, the vassal having called on his lord three times with a loud voice at the principal gate, put off his sword and spurs, kneeled, uncovered his head, and swore allegiance ; and notified this act to the nearest family, leaving a copy of the deed of his homage. In latter times, this was done with more

¹² Veteres Francor. Annales, A. D. 757. c. 17. Annal. Bertin. 284.

form and ceremony, and was attested by notaries and legal witnesses ¹³.

II. Service. It was generally of a military Service. nature. The vassal was bound, on being summoned, to attend in arms fifteen, twenty-four, forty, or sixty days, according as it was specified in the deed of tenure, or in the summons. Some vassals were bound to maintain themselves; some were subsisted by their superior: some commuted their service for a sum of money: some were bound to march wherever their superior chose to lead them; others were limited within a certain district: some were obliged to bring their vassals with them; others were bound only to attend themselves personally.

Instead of military, in many cases menial or other services were required; as soccage, or agricultural service: as the mere præstation, if required, of a piece of coin, of a rose, or a pair of gloves: or in some cases of mortmain, that is, of a body corporate, as a church or a monastery, prayers only for the superior were required from the vassal ¹⁴.

III. Relief was originally the offering presented, on his succession, by a new vassal to his superior. It might be the expression of a young Relief.

¹³ *Traité de Fiefs*, par M. Cl. Ferrière, c. ii. §. 1. art. 1, 2, 3, 4.

¹⁴ *Marculi Formulæ*, lib. ii. tit. 4. *Capitul.* lib. iii. passim.

man's gratitude for the protection and privileges vouchsafed to him during his minority : it might be the acknowledgment of the successor, of whatever age, and in whatever circumstances. It became customary, and was exacted as a right. It was finally estimated at a year's produce of the lands, which the superior might actually seize ; though more often they were valued by (*preud' hommes*) discreet and faithful men : and frequently a certain sum of money was accepted, in name of every other demand. It was necessary for the vassal, on his succession, to make these three offers, any of which the superior might accept as he chose, before the new successor could actually enter on his lands. There was no precise rule, either as to the mode, or time, in which the choice should be made. The time was in several provinces limited to the three first years after the term of succession ; and if homage was accepted in ordinary form, it was understood that either the first of the three years was to be accepted, or a third of each of them¹⁵.

Wardship.

The relief offered by a minor, on his coming to full age, was considered not merely as the acknowledgment of a vassal, but of a pupil or ward. The protection claimed by the father, as a vassal, was claimed, and usually extended to his son. The young heir was received under the tuition of his feudal lord ; was frequently educated at his court with tenderness and care ;

¹⁵ *Traité de Fiefs*, par M. Cl. Ferrière, c. ii. §. 4. art. 1.

and, as soon as he became of age, had his paternal estate formally and faithfully delivered to him. The man was of age at twenty, the woman at fifteen years.

This, however, was a delicate trust, and liable to be violated. Sometimes ambition, and sometimes avarice, triumphed over integrity, perverted the trust, and abused, or totally usurped, the estate. The pupil was not unfrequently neglected, or insulted. Lewis IV. the Transmarine, claimed the wardship of Richard the young duke of Normandy; but his views were more political than friendly. He detained him as a hostage. He actually kept him in confinement as a prisoner: for he was ambitious to reduce the power of Normandy, if not to re-annex it to the crown of France¹⁶.

The relief offered and claimed on marriage, is usually attributed by the French lawyers to the mere occasion of a change in the feudal tenure, or usufruct of the fief¹⁷. Marriage.

But this species of relief more probably originated rather in more remote and barbarous

¹⁶ La Coutume reformée de Normandie.

¹⁷ "La raison de ce relief, est qu'il y a mutation de possesseur, parce que le Mary perçoit les fruits du fief de sa femme." Institution au Droit François, liv. ii. c. 2.

Another kind of relief, which might have been mentioned, was the fifth (*le quint*) of the prise, in cases of sale. But it would be endless to enumerate all the laws and exceptions of the feudal system; for which see Du Moulin, Brodeau, Ferriere, Hist. du Droit Franç. Craig, &c.

times. In ancient Gaul, and especially in Germany, every tribe, canton, or district, being independent, and sovereign over its own members, was jealous of its freedom and privileges, and permitted no associations by marriage, nor indeed much intercourse otherwise, without the public consent. It was death for a slave to marry into another tribe, or estate, without the permission of his or her master. These ideas of power over inferiors were refined, but they were not less extended, by the rise and progress of the feudal system. A feudal lord considered his vassals so much in the light of slaves, that he thought himself entitled, to give, or withhold, his consent, in their purposes of marriage, as he chose. The professed principle was to prevent the marriage of the noble with the ignoble, and of the individuals of one hostile tribe with another: but the real principles which operated most actively were ambition and avarice, the love of power and of money; for he could thus thwart an adversary, or gratify a friend; and as his consent could be purchased, he was often able thus to raise a considerable revenue from the marriages of his vassals¹⁸.

Other
feudal inci-
dents.

There was a tendency, generally, in the spirit of the system, and of the times, to construe the generous expressions of benevolence into precedent and custom. The aid which a liberal-minded vassal administered to relieve his lord from debt, or other distress, to increase his

¹⁸ La Coutume reform. de Normandie. Ducange, ad voc. Disparagare, Maritagium.

grandeur

grandeur on some remarkable occasion, to augment the marriage-portion of his eldest daughter, was eagerly-converted into custom, and a principle of feudal law¹⁹.

Finally, the observance of these customs, ^{Escheat.} most of them founded on principles of humanity and benevolence, was afterwards enforced by arms, by escheat, or forfeiture. The penalty, and the mode of exacting it, were proportioned to the power of the lord, or the wealth, weakness, and unallied state of the vassal.

Such is a general outline of that feudal system ^{Beauty and deformity of this system.} which owed its birth to the genius, the native customs, and military spirit, of the barbarous nations, who invaded the Roman empire, and settled on its ruins; which acquired strength through the weakness of the Merovingian princes, and the instability of their government in France; and which rose to maturity by the decline and fall of the Carlovingian kings.

It is a system which, on slight speculation, seems favourable to monarchy; for the king appears the great source both of property and power; and the whole fabric, pyramidically formed on a vast basis, appears to rise, firmly compacted, to support and defend him. But, in fact, nothing could be more adverse to kingly government. The great barons, the dukes of Neustria, of Normandy, of Aquitain, of Bur-

¹⁹ Ducange, ad voc. Auxilium. Brussel. Usages Gen. des Fiefs en France.

gundy, the counts of Flanders, of Vermandois, &c. &c. instead of being subject to him, and obedient to his authority, were jealous of his power, and able to control it; instead of maintaining and defending the legal hereditary succession to the crown, seized every favourable opportunity of diminishing its influence, and of transferring it each to his own family. We see in them, what too often happens in human affairs, their principles and practice, their duty and conduct, perpetually at variance.

The same inconsistency, between duty and conduct, might be traced over all the ramifications of the system. It is not only beautiful in its appearance, speculatively considered, but it was benevolent in its spirit, and in many cases practically beneficial. Intercourses the most agreeable, and offices the most useful, prevailed sometimes over the society, which seemed one body, animated by one common spirit. These examples, however, of strict feudal fidelity and reciprocal enjoyment, like other tranquil and prosperous periods of antiquity, which excite not the attention of the historian, were not frequent, and passed peacefully away; while the whole history of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries may be considered as an illustration of the want of integrity and happiness throughout all ranks of the feudal relations.

Private
Wars.

Every baron, however small his territory, and however low in the scale of subordination, shut up in his castle, and surrounded by his own vassals, bade defiance to his immediate superior. The
terri-

territory and castle of his superior was probably not much larger nor stronger than his own. It was dangerous to enter into any confederacy against him; it only provoked him to a similar confederacy. Thus private wars arose; and before they terminated, they often desolated a large district of the country. They spread, by kindred and alliances, from one family and castle to another; and feuds (*faides*), like heritages, descended from one generation to another. Private often rose to public quarrels. The king's vassals naturally appealed to him. At other times, through private feuds and prejudices, the royal court and standard were deserted by the king's vassals, when he stood most in need of their support.

Custom and law were not altogether disregarded in hereditary succession. But the crown vassals generally considered, not so much what was law and duty, as what was their interest; not whether Lothaire, Lewis, or Charles, was the first-born, but in whose service were they most likely and most successfully to aggrandize their fief, or secure the property or the office which they already held. The imbecility of Lewis the Mild, and the contests of his sons for superiority, taught and accustomed them without fear to indulge their ambition. He profusely distributed to them all he had to bestow: he rendered them independent, by converting such as were yet temporary benefices, into perpetual fiefs: he revived and increased the high and powerful office of dukes, as governors of the frontier provinces, the number of whom Charlemagne had wisely diminished. A similar go-

Royal succession.

vernment of the counties and cities was encouraged, and prevailed under his successors. The ambition of these feudal counts and dukes increased with their power. They were not satisfied with one; they obtained, and sometimes usurped, the government of several counties: they constituted themselves the lords and hereditary proprietors of the places where they had been only appointed civil and military magistrates²⁰. Thus the count of Vermandois obtained Laon; and the duke of Burgundy and Neustria obtained also the government of Aquitaine. As they rose, the royal influence and authority declined. They neglected the summons, and deserted the councils, of the king: they parcelled out their fiefs among their subordinate vassals, of which the king complained in vain²¹. In the animosities of the princes, the weight of one, or more, thrown into the scale, decided the contest. The count of Vermandois was able to dictate to his sovereign; and the duke of Neustria or France was able, finally, to seize and hold the crown.

Hereditary right, however, continued to be the general rule of royal succession. From Lewis the Mild to Lewis Transmarine, the kingdom was repeatedly divided among sons of the same family. This custom of partition was found attended with so many and such serious in-

²⁰ Charles the Bald, by a Capitul. A. D. 877, apud Carisiacum, ordained that fiefs and counties should be hereditary.

²¹ Capitul. lib. iii. c. 19, 20, 45, 67, 69.

conveniences, that it was resolved to transmit the crown entire; which law was accordingly observed at the accession of Lothaire, the eldest son of Lewis Transmarine, and thenceforward in all future times ²².

The coronation of the king was attended with **more pomp and solemnity** after the accession of Pepin and Charlemagne. **Sensible of the influence of the clergy, each prince, on his accession, was desirous, not merely of their approbation, but to have the crown secured to him by the awful sanctions of religion.** Consecration by the pope himself, was held preferable; and next to him, by the bishop of most influence, or the most in favour with the sovereign. All the great lords and principal clergy usually attended; many of them assisted in the particular ceremonies: but the principal actions, the sacred unction, the administration of the oath of fidelity, the imposition of the crown on the royal head; and the consecration prayer, were performed by some favoured bishop. This honour was claimed by the archbishop of Rheims: his claim was occasionally disputed by others, and was not finally adjudged as his privilege, till towards the end of the twelfth century.

The whole kingdom appears as one great fief, of which the king was the lord paramount. His immediate vassals were, numerous, but very un-

The king as
paramount
or sove-
reign.

²² The nobles swore, "Ut nunquam de alterius lumbis regem in ævo præsumant eligere, sed ex ipso." Hist. of France by the Benedictines, vol. v. p. 10.

equal

equal in the extent of their fiefs. The duke of France, that is, of the greater part of Neustria, was greatly superior to the lord of a particular city, or small district of a county or parish. Yet the smallest baron, being a king's vassal, was the peer of the first lord of the kingdom, enjoyed equal access to the royal court and person, and was entitled, where mere power did not interfere, to equal honour and privileges.

Ministers of
the king.

The ministers of the king continued nearly the same from the beginning to the end of the Carlovingian race.

The mayoralty of the palace, which had proved so fatal to the Merovingians, was abolished by Pepi on his usurpation of their throne, and was never revived.

High
chancellor.

The chief ministers were, the apocrifary, or high chancellor, and the count of the palace; without the intervention of whom, no one was allowed access in business to the king. If the business was ecclesiastical, it was submitted to the former; and if civil, to the latter. The former in earlier times was usually chosen from among the bishops; or the bishops held the office each in his turn, or according to the royal pleasure. This was attended with many inconveniences: the diocese was found to suffer in the absence of its bishop: every bishop was not qualified for the high office of apocrifary: the court suffered by too frequent changes: the office was therefore filled permanently by any ecclesiastic,

astic, either a presbyter or deacon, as were judged qualified *.

The count of the palace presided in the king's court of civil law ; which was not only open to the vassals of the crown for judgment in the first instance, but was the last resort in cases of appeal from inferior courts. He had the power of deciding on principles of equity, as well as according to law. But when he presumed to set aside any of the ancient statutes, as too rude and severe for the special case before him, he submitted both the law and his own opinion to the king, that he might decide.

Count of
the palace.

When the changes of the royal residence were so frequent, and when provisions were generally to be procured from a distance, the offices of the household were far from being sinecures. As soon as the king's intention was communicated, each exerted himself in his own department, to provide equipage for the journey, to secure suitable accommodation on the road, or in the palace to which the court were going to reside sometime, and to procure in due time and quantity the necessary provisions for so numerous a family and retinue. These were the offices of the chamberlain and steward, of the groom and butler.

Chamber-
lain and
steward.

The general assemblies of the people, which Charlemagne had new modelled, do not appear to have retained the precise form, nor to have

General
assemblies.

* Hincmar, de Ordine Palatii.

preserved strictly the order which he gave them. Instead of meeting regularly twice a-year, they were convened once in four years", or as circumstances seemed to require; and instead of the counties sending each twelve representatives, means were concerted for packing them, according to the design of the prince, or ruling party. One of those means was the choice of the place where the assembly was to meet. It was appointed to be where the emperor hoped his friends could most easily attend, and at a distance from the country and residence of those whom he suspected, or knew to be adverse to his interests or inclinations. Thus Lewis the Mild preferred Nimeguen, in opposition to the intreaties of Lothaire and his partisans, for the meeting of that assembly, who were to confirm him in, or to dispossess him of, his throne".

On occasions of inferior importance, they were attended chiefly by official men, by the clergy and nobles of the immediate neighbourhood, and by such as were interested in the business of the meeting".

" Ut videlicet in anno quarto solummodo generalia placita observent, & nullus eos amplius placita observare compellat," &c. Capitul. lib. iv. c. 57.

There seems an attempt to revive the assemblies twice a year: " Ut ad mallum venire nemo tardet, unum circa æstatem, & alterum circa autumnum: ad aliud vero si necessitas fuerit, vel si denunciatio regis urgeat, vocatus venire nemo tardet." Capitul. lib. vii. c. 96.

" Aſta Concil. ad ann. 831, vol. iv. p. 1365.

" Capitul. lib. iii. c. 40. It is enacted that no person shall be warned to attend, but those who have business.

The

The clergy were usually the most numerous class in these assemblies, both because their education and habits qualified them more than others for judging in the subjects which came before them, and because they were more zealous on all occasions to watch the most favourable opportunities for promoting their own ecclesiastical influence. On looking, indeed, into the books of the capitularies, or laws enacted in those assemblies, we find that by far the greater number of them regarded matters of an ecclesiastical nature.

It is not unworthy of observation, that these national assemblies flourished most under the most able monarchs, and in the most prosperous periods of the monarchy; and instead of acquiring a popular or republican tendency, they were neglected, and declined, under feeble governments. They ceased to be observed towards the end of the Merovingian princes; and though revived by Pepin and Charlemagne, they sunk again in their importance and political influence under their successors the Carlovingians. Lewis, by his fanaticisms and mean submission to their discipline and will, taught them to despise him; and both he and his successors, by contriving afterwards to render them the tools of a weak and fluctuating policy, gave them much reason to despise themselves, and of course to disregard generally the summons, and occasions of their meeting.

Their
decline.

But

But the great cause of their decline and cessation, was the progress of the feudal system, and the civil and private wars which attended its growth. Then the prejudices of a party ruled, and the violence of arms gave laws. When the immediate vassals of the king were become more powerful than himself; and when they were separated from one another by personal animosities and mortal hatred, there could not then safely exist any general assembly of the kingdom.

S E C T. II.

Of Laws.

THE ancient laws imported into Gaul by the Romans, the Goths, the Franks, and Burgundians, which were illustrated and compared in the preceding Book and Volume of this History, continued to furnish the great principles and rules of decision in all the courts of judicature over France, during the ninth and tenth century. Yet they were often superseded by inferior judges, especially by the king and the count of the palace, as rude and unsuitable to the times. Decisions were given, and attempted to be founded on the general principles of equity; but these decisions were neither sufficiently uniform, nor were they ever collected in order to become rules of future judgment. The capitularies, so called from the manner in which they were collected into chapters or heads, enacted sometimes by general and sometimes by provincial assemblies, or by the king and his ministers, are the only code of written laws from which we can observe any material change in the system of jurisprudence. They were in a great measure set aside also in their turn afterwards, by the rise and progress of the feudal law.

The

The capitularies enacted and published by Charlemagne, Lewis the Mild, and their immediate successors, were collected by Ansegise and Benedict into seven books, with four additions or appendixes, extending only to A. D. 845. They are neither written clearly, selected skilfully, nor arranged with judgment: much labour and attention are requisite to discern their spirit, and reduce them to some form. As they were generally received, however, by the people as law over all the extent of the French empire, they are entitled to our respect; and they contribute much to illustrate the state of society, and the manners of the times.

They bear internal evidence of a relaxed and fluctuating government, of an ignorant and immoral clergy, of a superstitious, depraved, and oppressed people. Many of these laws are unintelligible and obscure; most of them want spirit and energy in their very style. The framers of them have not distinguished betwixt the form and language of a law, and of an admonition or exhortation. They are often fervent wishes, or zealous remonstrances, rather than authoritative decrees. Some of them are so ridiculous, that we can scarcely believe that any body of grave men, civil or ecclesiastical, could devise, frame, or publish them. They appear to have been much neglected, for they are often re-enacted, or explained; and, indeed, the explanation of many of them was very necessary.

Not only the bishops, counts, and other stationary officers and judges, but the *Missi Dominici*,
the

the ambulatory judges, or lords of the circuit courts, were required to use all diligence to publish the Capitularies among the people, that none might remain ignorant, nor have occasion to plead their ignorance, of them¹.

The variety of laws which prevailed in the different provinces, contributed often to embarrass both the judges and the people. The *avoué*, or commissary, of the monastery of St. Benedict and that of St. Denis having a difference concerning certain slaves, they appealed it to a special court of judges and doctors of the law, in addition to the count and bishop, the ordinary royal commissioners. In the first meeting of this court nothing was agreed on, because several of the judges, who understood the Salic law, were ignorant of the Roman and canon law, which chiefly regulated ecclesiastical property. The diet was adjourned to a future day in the city of Orleans, to which were summoned other doctors or teachers of the law, from different provinces. Even then they were of different opinions; and had almost resolved to leave the cause, as beyond their capacity and decision, to be finally determined by duel, as the solemn judgment of God².

From this anecdote of Adrevald several important inferences may be fairly deduced. First, It appears that there were public teachers of the law established in some of the towns and provinces, and particularly in Orleans. Secondly,

¹ Capitul. lib. ii. 24. 27. & vi. 217.

² Adrevaldi, lib. i. de Mirac. St. Bened.

That neither they, however, nor the ordinary judges, were sufficiently instructed in the common laws and customs of the country. Thirdly, That both the Salic and Roman law were in use; and that the latter was most prevalent in the more southern counties, and in cases connected with the church. The Roman law was not merely known in custom, but in manuscript. Charlemagne had caused the Theodosian code to be written fairly out A. D. 788, according to an edition of Alaric king of the Visigoths. Copies of this edition might be afterwards multiplied; yet, excepting in the church, and not frequently even there, they do not seem at this period to have been much studied and known.

We shall now endeavour to arrange the Capitularies in the usual order; of Persons, Things, and Actions.

I. Of PERSONS.

Slaves.

The laws enacted during this period were, on the whole, favourable to slaves. Their masters are required to treat them with humanity and gentleness². Certain restrictions were laid on the sale of them; such as that they were to be sold only in the presence of an archdeacon, of a hundreder, or other constituted judge, and could not be carried out of the country³. They were declared capable of bearing testimony. Their

² Capitulum lib. ii. c. 41. ³ Lib. v. c. 122.

emancipation was encouraged, and their freedom when emancipated was rendered more secure⁵.

The spirit of the times was favourable to personal liberty, in general. It was enacted, that no man should be apprehended without just cause, nor imprisoned till he was legally judged⁶.

Simple fornication was punished with scourging; if the party was betrothed, with death⁷. Sexual relations.

The marriage relation could not be entered into privately, nor without a dowry⁸.

Death was the punishment of adultery⁹. The influence of christianity, which moderated the rigours of servitude, thus augmented the penalties inflicted on the incontinent and licentious.

It disposed the mind generally to humanity and beneficence. Judges were required to give a preference to the poor when they appeared in court, in so far as to hear their cause early, or before noon, prior to royal or ecclesiastical causes. The reason is assigned, that they could not afford to wait on the court until they were called, and obtained justice in the ordinary course. No Justice and Charity.

⁵ Capitul. lib. iii. 16, 28, 29. ⁶ Lib. iii. 37.

⁷ Lib. vi. 24, 32, 47, 48.

⁸ "Nullum sine dote fiat conjugium nec sine publicis nuptiis quisquam nubere præsumat." Lib. vi. 131. "Si pater noluerit virginem dare, reddat pecuniam juxta morem dotis quam virgines accipere consueverunt." Lib. vi. 25.

⁹ Lib. vi. 36.

one more rich or powerful than they, was allowed either to purchase, or take, any thing from them, but at a public sale, or before suitable witnesses, to prevent even the suspicion of extortion and oppression. The state was declared the patron and protector of the poor and the fatherless. Hospitals were provided for strangers, for the poor, for the sick, for orphans, for the aged, and for infants ¹⁰.

II. Of THINGS.

Property continued to be held as formerly ; though feudal tenures became most common.

Sales.

Sales appear to have been conducted with greater order and security. They were confirmed by an earnest, or part payment, however small, which obliged the purchaser to implement the bargain. A sale might be challenged as unfair in three days : and if good cause were sworn before the competent judge, it became null ; but if the challenger failed, or allowed three days to pass without any question, the sale was ratified ¹¹.

Suretyship.

Suretyship became more common : and the person becoming surety was bound to pay the debt for which he had granted security ¹².

Debtor and Creditor.

After three warnings, the creditor might bring the debtor's goods which were lodged in pawn with him to sale, for payment ¹³.

¹⁰ Capitul. lib. ii. 29—33.

¹² Lib. vii. 218.

¹¹ Lib. v. 210, 211.

¹³ Lib. vii. 220.

In former times, a title to property by prescription was required in ten, and afterwards in twenty, years. Now forty years were declared requisite, whatever was the subject, or mode of commencement to the possession of it ^{Prescription} 14.

The violator of a testament, or one who contravened it, was thereby disqualified from deriving any benefit from it ^{Testaments} 15.

A man's widow was entitled to a third share of the fortune which he had himself acquired; but all that he held by inheritance, or other mode of accession, from his friends, descended to his children and other legal heirs ^{Heritage} 16.

The occasions and means of intercourse were become more frequent over the country. Roads were opened, and bridges built; but the relaxed and disorderly state of the government often rendered travelling tedious and vexatious. It was therefore enacted, that no one, on any account, should obstruct the highway, contrary to law; and that the contravener of this act should be fined according to the law of the jurisdiction under which he lived ^{Intercourse} 17.

¹⁴ Capitul. lib. v. 236.

¹⁵ Lib. vii. 246—248.

¹⁶ Lib. iv. 9.

¹⁷ "Siquis viam publicam aut lithostrotum, vel viam communem, alicui clauferit contra legem, cum sua lege componat." Capitul. lib. v. 201.

It is to be remembered, that the Franks, the Goths, Burgundians, and Romans, were judged each by his own law; and that the composition, or fines, of the different laws varied.

Usury.

Usury was declared inconsistent with the character of a christian, whether clergy or laity¹⁸.

III. Of Actions.

The increasing knowledge of the Roman law, as it came to be more generally understood in the Theodosian code, which is sometimes referred to in the Capitularies, the common use of the forms of Marculfus and others, and the general progress of civilization, all contributed to render transactions and obligations more precise, and at the same time the violations of them more obvious and flagrant. In the one respect, it diminished the demand for jurisdiction, but it increased it in the other. In proportion as men understood their interest, and the right and wrong as settled by law, they became the more tenacious of their right, and the more indignant against what seemed wrong. The high notions of morality too, which were acquired from the gospel, contributed, in many things, to render the exercise of criminal law more frequent and severe; though we may, on the whole, observe an unsteady influence of the doctrines of christianity on the applications both of justice and mercy. In some cases, indignation against the crime, obstructed the operation of mercy towards the criminal; while, in other cases, from a desire of shewing mercy to the criminal, ample justice was not done to society and to moral rectitude.

¹⁸ Capitul. lib. v. 36.

He who brought an accusation against any one, ^{Slander.} and failed to prove the crime alleged, was subjected to the punishment which that crime deserved ¹⁹.

The author of any scandalous libel was excommunicated; in those times, one of the most awful punishments which could be inflicted ²⁰.

The authors of a conspiracy against the state, or community, were put to death: their aiders or abettors were obliged to lash one another, and to cut off each the other's nose ²¹.

Soothsayers, magicians, mathematicians, who ^{Divination.} were consulted about the health or fate of the prince, as well as they who consulted them, and the authors and abettors of tumults and seditions, ^{Sedition.} were all equally liable to capital punishment. They were crucified, or thrown to wild beasts ²².

Theft was punished with death; and so was the receipt of stolen goods, if the receiver was himself discovered, and would not discover the thief, but on the contrary concealed him by perjury ²³.

House-breaking and robbery was punished by ^{Robbery.} a fine only, threefold the value of the damage done, or goods taken away, besides the composition paid to the lord paramount. If the robber was unable to pay all this, he was sub-

¹⁹ Capitul. lib. vii. 282.

²⁰ Lib. viii. 284.

²¹ Lib. iii. 9.

²² Lib. vii. 235, 286.

²³ Lib. iv. 191—195.

jected to servitude²⁴. This having been found too mild a penalty, it was some time after enacted, that the robber for the first fault should lose an eye, for the second his nose, and for the third his life²⁵. Robbery was punished more mildly, as partaking of the nature of war, or not easily to be distinguished from it.

Plundering in war was distinguished from robbery and house-breaking, though in many cases it must have been difficult to establish the distinction. The principal, or leader, was obliged to restore fourfold what he had taken; and each of his followers who aided him, was fined in five solidi. If they could not pay the fine, they received each one hundred and fifty lashes²⁶.

This crime also was afterwards punished with more severity. If house-breaking and plundering were committed by force of arms, and by a number of men, they were to suffer death. The principal, or leader, was to be burnt alive²⁷.

Perjury.

The penalty for perjury was the loss of a hand, which, however, might be redeemed by a fine; and in smaller matters, the perjurer and his accuser were permitted to decide on the crime charged, by the trial of the cross²⁸.

²⁴ Capitul. lib. iii. 65.

²⁵ Lib. v. 135.

²⁶ Lib. vi. 273.

²⁷ Lib. vi. 208. and lib. vii. 262.

²⁸ Lib. iii. 19. and lib. v. 125.

Incest was punished with a fine, or with excommunication if the fine was not paid. Any person offering the excommunicated food or lodging, was fined in sixty solidi, and with imprisonment till payment was made ²⁸.

Incest.

An incendiary was first obliged to replace as it was the house, and whatever was burnt by him; then he was fined sixty solidi; thirdly, he was required to pay so much to each person whom he had endangered; and lastly, he was subjected to ecclesiastical discipline ²⁹.

Incendiary.

Violence offered to another, though no positive injury was done, was liable to be punished with death. The law, however, seems to suppose that the violence was offered to a person in his own house ³⁰.

Personal violence.

Any opposition to justice, or contempt of the sentence of a court, was fined fifteen solidi, or the offender received fifteen lashes ³¹.

Contempt of court.

Culpable homicide was punished with banishment, besides the wargild, or fine, paid to the nearest kin of the deceased ³².

Homicide.

Murder was punished with death ³³. The fine for sacrilege was five pounds of gold ³⁴.

Murder.

²⁸ Lib. v. 7.²⁹ Lib. vi. 289.³⁰ Lib. iv. 20.³¹ Lib. vi. 291.³² Lib. v. 199.³³ Lib. iii. 27. § 1.³⁴ Lib. vi. 39.

Bribery.

The perversion of justice by a bribe, on some other particular favour or privilege, was punished with the loss of the hand.

These examples shew, that the former laws were found deficient and ineffectual; and they contain internal proofs, that these also were still far from being perfect. There is surely much difference between theft, mere violence, and murder; yet all are equally punished with death. Nothing, indeed, is more difficult, than to suit and proportion punishments to crimes; and great imperfection in this part of the political economy may be found in the most enlightened and civilized nations of every age.

Defects of these laws.

But the chief defect in the laws of this period, is their obscurity and feebleness. It is often impossible to understand their meaning at all. One clause at other times does another, and many of them, having no penalty annexed, may be considered as mere admonitions or recommendations. But, in general, there is a progress towards improvement. We see proper discriminations arising from experience; and the extensions of law and justice keeping pace with trade, with the growing ideas of liberty which men entertained, and with their more enlarged views both of private right and public relation and intercourse.

We may observe, on the whole, a greater conformity to the Salic than the Roman law. The reason is, that as a choice was allowed; and

as

as the Franks enjoyed superior privileges to the Romans, more men chose to be reckoned Franks, and to be judged by the Salic law, than by the Roman. In the south and west of France, however, where the Visigoths had settled, and where their law gave no preference to themselves above the Romans or Gauls, the Gothic gave way to the Theodosian code³³.

SECT. III.

Of Courts of Justice.

THE courts, civil and ecclesiastical, continued nearly the same for many years after the death of Charlemagne. The count of the palace and the high chancellor presided in the king's court; the dukes, counts, and barons, and their deputies, administered justice each respectively to the people of their own territories, and had each seven scabini, or rachimburghs, as their assessors. Subordinate to the counts, &c. were the hundreders, vicarii, and decani, who exercised a limited jurisdiction each within his own bounds³⁴.

Count of
the palace.

The royal commissaries (*missi dominici*) also continued to perambulate the kingdom; to re-

Royal am-
bulatory
judges.

³³ See Book I. c. 3. of this History; and Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, book xxviii. c. 4, 5.

³⁴ See Book I. c. 3. § 3. of this History.

ceive and judge causes appealed to them; to take cognizance of the general state of jurisdiction over the country; to redress grievances, and prevent either neglect of duty on the one hand, or excessive rigour and oppression on the other, as far as it was competent for them to do themselves; and when their commission or power was deficient, their duty required them to report to the king. The several stations or districts, for each of which two commissaries, a count and bishop, were appointed, were Besançon, Mayence, Treves, Cologne, Rheims, Sens, Rouen, Tours, and Lyons. These commissaries were farther required to take care that the laws should be duly made known to the people; and that the king should be made acquainted with all cases and circumstances which seemed to require the enactment of new laws².

These commissaries were accustomed to hold their courts in an ambulatory state; sometimes in the church of one district, sometimes of another; for the conveniency of the people. But the church was found unsuitable. The field was no less inconvenient. The kind of business transacted in them seemed a profanation of the place of divine worship; and therefore, towards the end of the ninth century, halls were ordained to be built in situations which the count of each district should judge most fit³. As the power generally committed to these judges was great, they were solemnly warned to be cautious, both

² Capitul. lib. ii. 25—28.

³ Lib. iv. 28.

with

with respect to the causes offered to their cognizance, and to the judgments which they gave. They were to admit and judge no cause without having both parties before them, the accuser and defender, and were always to give ample room for exculpation. They were to judge no person without a formal accusation. They were to examine with peculiar strictness the accusation of a person who seemed prone to accuse; and were to consider the character, and weigh well the evidence, of witnesses, in every cause*. They were neither to convene the people, nor remain long in those places where they found justice duly administered by the ordinary judges, the counts, the bishops, abbots, and their deputies and assessors: but wherever they found justice neglected, there they were commanded to remain, and to live altogether at the expence of the judge who had neglected or prohibited the administration of justice among the people. All the people of the district of any rank or interest were required to attend this missal court (*missos dominicos*, or *placitus dominicum*), to answer any questions which might be put respecting the state of the country, and to be a check upon those who gave information; that there might be no misrepresentation, and that the real state of the country might be fully known, and faithfully reported†. The district in which they held their court was to furnish them with provision daily; viz. forty loaves of bread,

* Capitul. lib. vi. 149. 238—247.

† Lib. iv. 66, 67. 71.

three lambs, three modii of liquor, a young pig, three fowls, fifteen eggs, and four modii of corn for the horses of the bishop; thirty loaves, two lambs or calves (*friscingæ*), two modii of liquor, one pig, three fowls, fifteen eggs, and three modii of corn, for a count, abbot, or other royal commissary of that rank; but to those of an inferior rank (*vassallos nostros*), seventeen loaves, one lamb, one pig, one modius of liquor, two fowls, ten eggs, and two modii of corn⁶. They were authorised to dismiss unjust and unfit avoués, hundreders, and other deputies, and to cause others duly qualified to be appointed in their room; but if the count, abbot, or bishop, were negligent or unfaithful, they were only to report so to the king⁷. They were to search into causes patiently, to judge with deliberation, and never to delay any cause unnecessarily. If they perverted justice, through bribery, prejudice, or passion, and were convicted, they were punished with imprisonment⁸. They were to hold their courts four times a year, viz. in January, April, July, and October; and four times in four different places within the district assigned them, during each of these months⁹.

Hundreder.

The hundreder's court was competent to judge of any cause, excepting such as related to slaves and landed property, which could be judged of by the count only of the district¹⁰.

⁶ Lib. iv. 73.

⁷ Lib. iii. 11.

⁸ Lib. iii. 53. lib. v. 246—279. lib. vii. 176.

⁹ Lib. iii. 83.

¹⁰ Lib. iv. 26.

Noisy

Noisy and obstinate pleaders, agents, or advocates, who would not acquiesce in the judgment of a court, nor conform to the customary rules of procedure, were not to be imprisoned, but committed to safe custody, in order to be carried for judgment before the king. If they were found guilty of avarice or fraud, they were to be excluded from the society of honest men, and from all intercourse with the ordinary judges. In a word, they were disqualified from acting any longer in that capacity ^{Agents.}.

Seven days were allowed to elapse betwixt the summons and attendance of a witness. Non-attendance was fined fifteen solidi; and the summons was repeated for other seven days, the neglect of which was fined other fifteen solidi; and so a third time: but the fourth time, forty-two days were allowed; and if then the summons was still neglected, the person's property was arrested, and after a year disposed of at the judgment of the king ^{Witnesses.}.

Witnesses were required to be, not under fourteen years of age, no way concerned in the cause, and not near relations; of good character, always the most respectable of the district. They were disqualified, if the opposite party could substantiate any thing immoral against them. They could not be examined if intoxicated. Their evidence was indeed required to be taken always in the morning before they

⁴⁴ Capitul. lib. iii. 7. 59. lib. vii. 114.

⁴⁵ Lib. iii. 45. lib. iv. 25.

broke their fast. A false or perjured witness lost his hand, and was for ever disqualified from bearing witness¹³. If witnesses disagreed in their testimony, two of them on each side were appointed to fight with cudgels, and the conquered not only lost their cause, but were fined¹⁴.

Witnesses could not give evidence out of court, nor by epistle, nor from hearsay. Freedmen were inadmissible as evidence till after the third generation¹⁵.

Other
proofs.

Writings duly dated, and attested by the subscription or signature of their author, were admitted as proof¹⁶.

Various attempts were made, and especially by the influence of the church, to abolish the absurd modes of appeal which have been described in the preceding Book; viz. the proofs by duel, the cross, &c.¹⁷ Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, wrote against them. The assembly of Attigny, A. D. 822, prohibited the trial of the cross as a profanation. The trial by cold water was prohibited by the council of Worms, A. D. 829. The council of Valence, A. D. 855, ordained that the proof by duel, though authorised by custom, should be no longer tolerated; that the victor who killed his antagonist should be subjected to the law against homicide; and that the

¹³ Lib. iii. 10. 32. 38. 41. 52. 78. lib. v. 150. 137. 162. lib. vi. 271.

¹⁴ Lib. iv. 23.

¹⁵ Lib. vi. 146.

¹⁶ Lib. vi. 145. 157.

¹⁷ Book I. c. iii. § 3.

deceased

deceased should be deprived of burial, and of the prayers of the church.

All these prohibitions, however, were ineffectual; and custom, confirmed indeed by new statutes, continued to prevail against ecclesiastical canons¹⁸.

In an unsettled state of government, we can neither expect good laws to be enacted, nor to be regularly administered. From the death of Charlemagne till the accession of the Capetian race, few periods, and these of short duration, can be pointed out, which were not disturbed by the Normans, or convulsed by civil and private wars. It was generally in the power of the superior ranks, in these circumstances, to oppress their inferiors; and all ranks, in such times, have it too much in their power, by violence, to evade law and justice. The royal commissaries long proved an admirable check on county courts; but in proportion as the power declined whence they derived their authority, their influence and utility of course must have decayed. When the king himself was disregarded, they might reasonably lay their account with neglect. In fact, their entrance into some counties was opposed by such barons as were adverse to the king, and ambitious of shewing their independence on him. The people were prevented from attending their courts. As soon as the counts were fully in possession of their counties, as fiefs or feudal

Obstacles to justice.

¹⁸ Capitul. lib. iii. 46, 47. lib. iv. 13. 29.

lordships, they claimed an independent civil jurisdiction, as well as a right of military government. The quarterly visitations of the royal commissioners, therefore, were no longer admissible: in some places, consequently, they were violently abolished; in others, they gradually fell into disuse. In a word, the rise and progress of the feudal system produced a general change on some of the principles, and on the general administration, of law.

Feudal
courts.

The system itself we have already described: the laws arising out of it will fall to be stated at a subsequent period, when they were more distinctly framed, more clearly understood, and universally received. In the mean time, the laws in being, whether the Capitularies, many of which were on the decline, or the new laws as they arose from incidents and precedents, were administered in the courts of the several lordships: in the king's, both as lord paramount of the kingdom, and as lord of his own barony; in the duke's or count's, as lord of the province, or county, held as a fief by him; in the baron's, subordinate to the duke or count; and in those of the inferior barons. The vassals of each, as his servants or children, naturally resorted to him for justice and protection against one another, and against the encroachments and injuries to which they were occasionally exposed from the neighbouring baronies, counties, or kingdoms.

Ecclesi-
astical
courts.

The clergy claimed a two-fold jurisdiction; viz. that which properly belonged to them on religious

religious and moral subjects in their ecclesiastical courts, which they succeeded in extending to subjects of almost every kind, and for which purpose they framed their code of canon law; and that which, on converting their church-lands into fiefs, they held in common with lay barons¹⁹. As they commissioned generally their avoués, or vidames, or some superior vassal, to levy and head the troops of their barony, when summoned by their lord paramount; so they deputed some of these, unless they chose to do it themselves, to preside in the court of their temporal lordship. These distinctions are frequent in the Capitularies of Charlemagne, and of both his predecessors and successors²⁰.

On the whole, it appears, that benefices originated in the ancient military custom among the Franks, and other barbarous tribes, of dividing the plunder and conquered lands among the soldiers, as the motive and reward of their service: that benefices began to be rendered hereditary under the Merovingian kings: that fiefs and feudal relations were established and understood by Charlemagne and his successors; and by the end of the Carlovingian race, the constitution of the French kingdom was altogether feudal. By this constitution, every baron, as well as the king,

¹⁹ Capitul. lib. v. 187.

²⁰ Capitul. Concil. Paris, A. D. 615. Concil. apud Salz, A. D. 802. Capitulare Interrogationis, A. D. 809. "Quæ causæ efficiunt ut unus episcoporum, abbatum, et comitum nostrum alteri adjutorium præstare nolit, sive in marcha, sive in exercitu," &c. Concil. Carisiac. A. D. 857.

claimed the right, within his own barony, of levying troops, and of employing them either in national or private war; of exercising jurisdiction over his own vassals, even to life and death, without control or appeal; of levying imposts or taxes for his own use and state; of coining money; and of making laws. Attempts were made, without effect, during the reign of the Carolingians, to prevent the growth of each of these into established custom²¹. They have served one important end; they shew the time when the power of the feudal aristocracy was nearly established, the struggles of a feeble administration to oppose its progress, and the gradual manner in which the constitution of France was changed, from an absolute monarchy to a feudal government.

²¹ See, particularly, the Capitularies collected by Ansegise, edit. Paris, 1640, to which I have all along referred, lib. ii. 15. 18. lib. iii. 8. 9. lib. iv. 66. 70. lib. v. 131. lib. vii. 7. and the Treaty of the three royal Brothers at Marfna, A. D. 847.

S E C T. IV.

Of the Public Revenue.

BESIDES the king's own domain, which was entirely at his own disposal, for the use of his family, and of his heirs after his decease, the *fredum* and *census*, as formerly described¹, continued to form a part of the Public Revenue. From a Capitulary of Lewis the Mild, it appears that the *fisc*, about which some writers have spoken doubtfully, is the same with the royal domain. "If slaves, belonging either to the church or to allodial proprietors, shall make their escape into our *fisc*; on being claimed by their owners or their deputies, our *fiscal*, considering that they do not justly belong to our domain, shall expel them, and restore them to their own masters: and even though they should belong to our *fisc*, let them first be expelled from it, and then the *fiscal* shall institute a legal process for their recovery²."

Fredum and census.

The Fisc.

The tax which the Capitulary of Charlemagne calls ancient and reasonable, continued to be levied on merchants: at bridges, when their goods went by land-carriage; in the port, when they went by water; or in the market, where they were to be sold.

Tolls.

The same Capitulary observes, that new and unjust tolls, or taxes, were demanded by persons,

¹ Book I. ch. iii. § 4.

² Capitul. lib. iv. 3.

who stretched a rope across the highway, and who made no difference betwixt carriages passing along a bridge, and boats sailing under it. It alludes to a practice then common: every baron, as a petty king in his own domain, aimed in some things, as in this case, most absurdly at royalty. Stretching a rope over the highway, where it entered their territory, they levied a tax from travellers, who were unable to resist them: and though a bridge was rather an obstacle than an accommodation to vessels on a river, yet the bridge was absurdly made the pretext for demanding a tribute. Nay, they sometimes obliged persons to go farther than they intended, and to cross a river or a boundary, in order to have a pretence for taking their money. The repeated prohibitions of this absurd practice under the succeeding reigns, shews the weakness of government, and the caprice and increasing power of the nobles.

Heriban.

The heriban was levied as a fine for absence from the army, and formed no inconsiderable part of the revenue. It was not unusual to order the army to march to some distant region, without any serious intention actually to go thither, but merely to have occasion to grant as many leaves of absence, as would amount to a sum which the necessities of the king required.

The full ban, according to the law of the Franks, was sixty solidi; but that sum, in many cases, having been found oppressive, it was mo-

³ Capitul. lib. iii. 12. 54. lib. iv. 31. 47.

dified according to a man's rank or ability. If he was worth six pounds of gold or silver, or equal to that value in cattle or other property, and neglected the royal ban or summons to the field, he paid three pounds of that value : if he had no more than three pounds, then he paid thirty solidi ; that is, a pound and a half : if only two pounds, he paid ten solidi : if only one pound, he paid five solidi. Some exceptions were admitted ; as when the person was engaged otherwise in the king's service. The money was collected by the royal commissaries, and a third of it was paid to the count of the district ⁴. This tax was levied not on slaves, nor landed property, but on moveable goods only ⁵.

All church-property was free from taxation, till towards the end of the Carlovingian race, when the invasions of the Normans and Saracens, and the necessities in general of the state, made the clergy contribute cheerfully to defend the very existence of religion ⁶.

⁴ Capitul. lib. iii. 14. 68. lib. vi. 96.

⁵ " Ipse vero heribannus non exactetur, neque in terris, neque in m unciis, sed in aureo et argento, pallis atque armis, et animalibus atque pecudibus, sive talibus speciebus quæ ad utilitatem pertinent." Capitul. lib. iii. 68.

⁶ Lib. vi. 107. 110.

SECT. V.

*Of Military and Naval Affairs.*PART I. *Of Military Affairs.*

Armour.

THE arms formerly described, which were employed in the armies of the Merovingian kings, continued still in use. But to the dagger, the ax, the shield, and spear, were added a large sword and a breast-plate; and gradually a helmet, a cuirass, and complete coat of mail. These, borrowed in part from the Greeks and Romans, were first worn by the officers and nobles of the French armies; but, after some time, every man who enjoyed twelve manors, or 144 acres of land, was required to provide (*bruneam* or *loricam*) a coat of mail, and other suitable armour: if any one, on being summoned, neglected to bring his cuirass or coat of mail, he was deprived of his benefice, and of the privileges of arms^a.

Mode of
levy.

The troops continued to be levied after the manner which Charlemagne had established;

^a Capitul. lib. iii. 4, 5, 6. 22. 75. 89.

The cuirass was the defensive armour of the body and thighs. A full coat of mail included the helmet, breast-plate, and greaves,

that

that is, every freeman of a certain property, on being duly summoned, was bound to attend in full armour wherever he was required, till it was superseded by the progress and establishment of the feudal system. Then the king, as lord paramount or sovereign, issued his summons to his own vassals, and to allodial proprietors; his vassals summoned their vassals; and these again summoned theirs, over that extent of country, and to that number of men, which was deemed requisite. The king's summons was called his ban, and the subordinate summonses were called the *arriere ban*. This latter phrase came afterwards to signify the whole army.

Every freeman, who on being duly summoned failed to attend, was fined 60 solidi, and subjected to servitude till payment. The servitude was personal, and did not affect the heirs. This, however, being found too severe a penalty, was modified, as has been mentioned in the preceding Section ².

Mortifications were often more effectual than temporal penalties. It was enacted, that the neglect of summons to the army, should be punished with abstinence from flesh and wine, day for day, according to the number of days absence.

The clergy were generally excused, and indeed, by some canons and capitularies, prohibited

² Capitul. lib. iii. 67.

from

from personal attendance ; but they were required to send their vassals, under the command of their vidame, or some other deputy³. Many of them, however, were obliged as vassals to attend themselves, and some preferred this.

Every soldier, besides clothes and arms, carried three months provision with him⁴.

Discipline. Intemperance in the army was punished with fasting, whether the person was drunk himself, or tempted his neighbour to drink.

Undue leave of absence granted to a soldier by any of the king's vassals, was punished with the loss both of honour and property. Desertion was punished with death⁵.

Disorderly plundering was punished with seven-fold restitution, or sixty solidi, and restitution by the leader ; and with five solidi by each of his followers, or one hundred and fifty lashes⁶.

Every baron, or leader, was made answerable for his own vassals, or men, during their march. If positively negligent or disobedient, he forfeited his honour and privileges⁷.

Kind of troops.

Infantry.

Infantry still formed the great body of the army : but cavalry were becoming more frequent. Their manner of fighting is thus de-

³ Capitul. lib. iii. 67. lib. vi. 285, 286.

⁴ Lib. iii. 74. lib. vii. 9¹.

⁵ Lib. iii. 70, 71, 72. ⁶ Lib. v. 189. & vi. 273.

⁷ Lib. ii. 15.

scribed

scribed by the Author of the Annals of Metz,
A. D. 860.

Salomon, duke of Brittany, taking advantage of ^{Cavalry.} the disorders which the private wars, so frequent in those times, occasioned in the country betwixt the Seine and the Loire, and thinking the king, Charles the Bald, occupied with the means of suppressing them, and of punishing their authors, invaded that country with fire and sword, and carried off an immense quantity of plunder. Charles considered him as an usurper, scarcely yet established in his sovereignty. He was jealous of his ambition, which claimed the title, as well as the power, of king; and he beheld with indignation the devastation that he spread over that fine country which he had invaded. To punish, and in hopes to subdue him, Charles led his army into Brittany: nor was Salomon unprepared, nor backward to oppose him. The two armies met: that of Charles consisted of a large body of infantry, and some Saxon cavalry, which he had hired for a time from his brother Lewis king of Germany.

He drew up these cavalry in a line, in front of the army, and with a view to oppose and break the first rude attack of the Breton cavalry, who were also but recently introduced into that country. The latter were armed with light spears, which they threw to a great distance. They advanced in small parties, darted their spears, wheeled, and retired with speed, still darting expertly their missile weapons behind them. They were more than a match for the
Saxon

Saxon cavalry, who could not throw their more heavy spears so far, and therefore suffered much without being able to inflict a wound on the enemy. Their long and heavy swords were of no use at such a distance: they were forced to retire behind the infantry, who opened their ranks to them. The engagement then became general, and was not terminated but by the darkness of the night. It was renewed with the morning light, and was continued incessantly the whole day. The following night the French army, much reduced in numbers, and dreading the consequences of a third battle, abandoned their camp and baggage, and sought their safety in darkness and flight^{*}.

Sieges.

The manner of conducting sieges, and the instruments of war for that purpose, have been already described in the history of the siege of Paris by the Normans^{*}.

^{*} Annales Metens. A. D. 860.

^{*} Book II. ch. i.

PART II. *Of Naval Affairs.*

BOTH Franks and Gauls originally were expert and skilful mariners. The extensive sea-coast of France, and the large rivers which intersect it in every direction, were calculated, as in similar situations, to give an early and general disposition to the inhabitants to cultivate the arts of ship-building and of navigation. The trade which they enjoyed with the neighbouring maritime nations, and which they carried on even along their own coasts and rivers, was sufficient to have cherished a naval genius, to have inured them to hardships, and to have rendered them intrepid in danger. Their own piratical expeditions, the naval wars in which they sometimes engaged, and the defensive wars which they were, in latter times especially, obliged to maintain against the northern nations, the Danes and Normans, by the beginning of the ninth century, and under such a monarch as Charlemagne, must have animated them with the spirit, and furnished them with the experience, of a great maritime power.

Want of
Naval spirit.

Charlemagne was not negligent of the marine department of his vast empire. He had three large fleets, besides several smaller squadrons, judiciously stationed on the German and Mediterranean seas; and while he lived, he was able to repel and overawe both the Saracens and Normans. The latter, however, were no more than
awed :

awed: they were not prevented nor discouraged from renewing their predatory visits on the French coast, nor from cautiously entering the mouths of some of the principal rivers. The frequency of their incursions, and their increasing boldness, towards the end of his reign, affected his spirits: he foresaw their future successes, and the probable result of them, when the imperial sceptre was to be swayed by a more feeble arm. The navy which he formed, the naval system which he established, and the general spirit which he diffused over it, contributed for some time to check the Norman depredations; but as that spirit vanished, these awful calamities increased. The office of maritime counts continued, who had the direction and command, each of a certain extent of the sea-coast, and of the fleets and arsenals. We meet with frequent laws respecting them, and orders addressed to them; but the consequences shew, that a feeble mainspring must relax the whole machine, and render its movements desultory and inefficient. From the reign of Lewis the son of Charlemagne, till we approach the period of the crusades, we scarcely meet with the word ship, or fleet, in all the French history. It is probable that the greater part of them were burnt, or destroyed, by the enemy, and that energy was wanting in the government of the Carlovingian kings, either to furnish anew their arsenals, or to fit out fleets worthy of so great a kingdom, or adequate to the numbers and daring courage of such an enemy. Instead of suitable exertions, indeed, to meet them in the open sea, they waited his entrance into their rivers, and his advances into
the

No mention of
fleets.

the very heart of the kingdom. A few ships, and many small craft, they must have had, to answer particular emergencies, as in the siege of Paris ; but they were unworthy surely of the name of a fleet, or navy, which they never opposed to the enemy boldly on the ocean¹⁰.

“ De Nortmannia vero tredecim piraticæ naves egres-
 “ sæ, primo in Flandrensi littore prædari molientes, ab
 “ iis qui in præsidio erant repulsæ sunt : ubi tamen ab eis
 “ propter incuriam aliquot cæsæ viles incensæ, et par-
 “ vus numerus pecoris est abactus. In ostio Sequanæ
 “ similia tentantes, resistentibus sibi littoris custodibus quin-
 “ que suorum interfectis irritæ discesserunt : tandem in
 “ Aquitanico littore prosperis usæ successis, vico quodam
 “ qui vocant Bundium, ad integrum depopulato, cum in-
 “ genti prædâ, ad propria reversæ sunt.”

EGINHARTI *Annales*, A. D. 820.



CHAP. IV.

The History of Literature in France, from the Death of Charlemagne, A. D. 814, to the Accession of Hugh Capet, A. D. 987.

SECT. I.

Of Literature.

THE exertions of Charlemagne in behalf of learning, the schools which he instituted over the empire, and the encouragement which he vouchsafed to learned men, not only checked its decline, but sowed the seeds which, by a slow and almost imperceptible growth, through a long and unfavourable season, came at last to maturity. His son shewed the best disposition to maintain and promote the institutions of his father. The Capitularies of the assemblies which he held, frequently recommended and enjoined due attention to cathedral, and something like parochial, schools¹. The things taught in most of them, indeed, were frivolous; but in a few of them, according to the qualifications and views of the bishop and teacher, they were more solid and useful. Church-music and re-

¹ Capitul. lib. ii. 5.

citation were the favourite and most general subjects of attention in them. Schools were attached also to the monasteries, for the purpose both of teaching the youth belonging to them, and other scholars unconnected with them. Inconveniencies having arisen from the promiscuous meeting of these two different classes in the same school, the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, A. D. 817, prohibited extra scholars. This occasioned them to be separated, and to be taught in different rooms, so that they might have no intercourse. The same masters, however, presided in both, and generally taught them the same things. Some of the masters were the most able and learned men of the times, as Alcuin, Raban, Maur, Lupus, Candidus, Milon, &c.; and their diligence and success appeared in the comparative eminence of their scholars in the succeeding ages².

Some of these institutions were destined for children so young as seven years. They were taught by curates. They began them with learning the psalter, probably to repeat rather than to read it: though many learned undoubtedly to read also; otherwise they could not have been prepared for the higher branches of education, and for becoming, as they did, teachers and authors themselves. Some of the dignitaries of the church, as Dado bishop of Verdun, and Everache bishop of Liege, disdained not to spend a considerable part of their time in overseeing these schools, and in teaching the chil-

² Hist. Liter. de la France, tom. vi. p. 29.

dren to understand the subjects which they repeated and read †.

Superior to these elementary schools, were Academies; the academies annexed to monasteries and cathedral churches, for the young clergy; and three academies were instituted in the kingdom, besides the academy of the palace, which was ambulatory, for the nobility. The nobility were generally negligent of education; yet there were in every age some exceptions, as many of them both exemplified the dignity and excellence of learning, and dared to reprove the neglect of it. King Lewis the Transmarine having pointed his finger in derision against Foulque, the good count of Anjou, who was one of the most learned men of the age, the latter perceived it; and, knowing the cause of it to be a contempt of learning, wrote the king a rude but severe reproof: "Know, Sire, that an unlettered king is a crowned ass ‡."

These various schools and academies were generally well endowed; and though some of the teachers of those whose funds were declining, or originally poor, accepted fees, yet it was thought illiberal and unfavourable to learning. They were called mercenary, and said to set a price on their lessons. The more they became a subject of attention, the richer were their endowments; but being generally annexed to a church or monastery, and the funds of most of

† Hist. Littér. de la France, tom. vi. p. 29.

‡ Ibid. p. 21.

them being undistinguished and confounded together, suffered or prospered with these greater institutions, on which they seemed entirely to depend.

Besides the elementary parts of education, as reading, &c. writing, arithmetic; the fine arts, as music and poetry; and the liberal arts or sciences, as grammar, rhetoric, &c.; were taught in them.

Writing.

The art of writing was carried to great perfection. It was the only means, before the invention of printing, for either making or multiplying books. It was one of the great occupations of the monks, to which we are indebted for the preservation of many of the works of the ancients, to write copies of them for their own use, for the use of the monastery, or for sale. They studied writing, not only as an useful, but as an ornamental art: they adorned their sacred books, especially, with peculiar beauty: they wrote them, as we see in the examples which yet remain, with ink of different colours, gold, azure, purple, &c.: they were interspersed with miniatures: they were covered with silver, ivory, and precious stones⁵.

Arithmetic.

Arithmetic was very imperfectly taught. Some knowledge was necessary to calculate the festivals of the church; but it was easily acquired by the clergy. It was more necessary,

⁵ Hist. Liter. de la France, tom. iv. p. 282.

and to a greater extent, for the purposes of astronomy, which, however, very few attempted.

Gerbert, monk of Aurillac, archbishop of Rheims, and afterwards pope Sylvester II., a man of great research, was by far the most profound geometrician of these times. He taught land-measure, the measure of heights and distances, and gaugin⁶.

He had not only read the writings of the ancients on geometry and astronomy, but he had obtained considerable information from the Arabs. He describes the sphere as round, and its circumference as divided into sixty equal parts; which again he subdivides into twelve. He divides it again, in the contrary direction, into five zones. To find the polar star, he proposes to fix seven tubes in a hemisphere, so that it shall be seen through each by simply turning it round. If you still doubt, point one of them to it immoveably; and if the star shall be seen through the tube so fixed the whole night, it is certainly the polar star. The position of each of the tubes will mark the circles of the several zones⁷.

He not only calculated, but mechanically represented, the motions of the heavenly bodies. Such a philosopher in those times was reckoned a magician, and was sometimes consulted by the

⁶ Hist. Liter. de la France, tom. vi. p. 582.

⁷ Mabillon, Vetera Analecta, p. 102. edit. Paris. 1723.

ignorant and superstitious about future events and other mysteries: but he was also exposed sometimes to danger, when the people happened to be animated by a spirit of intolerance and zeal against those whom they suspected to be familiar with the devil.

This idea was fostered by some men, who pretended to learning, and the knowledge of astronomy, but indulged chiefly in the study of astrology, the favourite pursuit among all ranks in a dark age. General conjectures, founded on the places, the motions, and appearances of the heavenly bodies, excited wonders, and imposed on credulity; but accurate calculation, and precise demonstration of any remarkable phenomenon, as an eclipse, seemed to the unlearned beyond all human skill, and the suggestion of a supernatural malevolent being.

Chronology.

Chronology was regarded with so little accuracy, that it is difficult often to discover from what period they reckoned their year. The Franks following the Germans, the Gauls in imitation of the Romans, and the Church in imitation of the ancient Hebrews, began the year in March; but the Romans also began their year in January; and the Church, and the French in general, seem to have adopted that period for the commencement of the year, when they assumed the æra of our Lord's birth. From this æra even Gregory of Tours, in the sixth century, sometimes reckons; and it became general to do so in the ninth and tenth centuries. The indiction, which was a cycle of fifteen

fifteen years, was another period for reckoning time, much used by the French teachers and authors. It was counted in France from the 22d day of September A. D. 307, though in other countries there were other æras of its commencement. Such varieties then required more attention than was generally given to chronology, and frequently now occasions much embarrassment in settling the dates of facts and writings in those times*.

Geography was neither studied with attention Geography. in the schools, nor by authors. It appears from the writings of the ancients which have come down to us, and from the use which a few writers made of them, that they were not destitute of the means, but they generally wanted the curiosity and activity requisite to the accurate knowledge of this subject. Few travelled beyond their native parish or province; and fewer still, who might venture into foreign countries, were capable of observation, and of recording those things which they did remark. We shall find geography, however, in a future period, reviving with the crusades, which, though immediately foolish and destructive, were undoubtedly the means of the civilisation and general improvement of Europe.

Historical writing was in its rudest state. Of History. past times little more was recorded than names and dates. Authors who wrote the lives of the

* Mabillon de Re Diplom. lib. ii. c. 23. Du Cange, voc. Indiction.

reigning princes, or the annals of their own times, were neither studious of arrangement, industrious in collecting suitable materials, nor capable of that discernment which is necessary to select those subjects which are most important and interesting. Their writings seem notes for the use of the authors themselves, rather than history, or even memoirs, for the instruction of future generations. They often include in a single line the transactions of a whole year. They become more full and particular, indeed, as they descend towards the time in which they wrote.

Annals.

The Annals of the Abbey of St. Bertin, so named because the manuscript was discovered there, seem to have been the work of different authors, as Prudentius bishop of Troyes, &c. They commence with the year 741, and end with the year 861. They are reckoned the most impartial and faithful record of the times.

The Annals of Fulda, written by a monk of that abbey, are peculiarly severe against Charles the Bald; but may, in other respects, be generally depended on. They are continued from A. D. 714 to A. D. 900. Some writers suppose them to have been written by Walafrid Strabo.

The Annals of Metz, written by a monk of that city, begin with the French monarchy, and contain little more than a copy of preceding annals till the year 687. From that period downwards he still copies from others, but with some variety

variety and judgment in the arrangement of materials, till the beginning of the tenth century.

Other works, not anonymous, of any eminence in those times, will fall more properly to be noticed in the next Section, when we treat of their authors under their respective names.

Various causes contributed to counteract the plans and institutions of Charlemagne for promoting learning. Causes adverse to learning.

I. The disorders of the state were unfavourable. Political disorders,

The weakness of Lewis rendered it easy and safe to disturb his government. His sons and his subjects alternately dethroned and restored him almost with impunity. The same ambition which animated them against their father, armed them against one another; and, in the obstinate prosecution of their respective plans of aggrandisement, they deluged the plains of Fontenoy with the best blood of the empire. Charles the Simple was so pusillanimous as to be declared by the nobles of his kingdom unworthy to reign. The Normans, seeing the distractions of the state, and feeling but little resistance, became fearless, and traversed and ravaged the kingdom in every direction. The crown at last passed from the feeble hands of the Carlovingian to the Capetian race. Amidst convulsions, devastations, and revolutions like these, literature could not flourish. The minds of men were restless, dismayed, or occupied with the prejudices,

dirces, the quarrels, or actions of the day, too much, to engage in the deliberate and calm pursuits of learning.

ruinous to
seats of
learning ;

II. These civil wars and invasions not only pre-occupied the attention of men who might otherwise have been disposed to cultivate learning, but were directly ruinous to it. Churches, monasteries, and libraries, were burnt and overthrown : many valuable ancient manuscripts perished : books were less easily accessible : security and quiet, so necessary to study and learning, were not to be enjoyed,

disturbed
the mind ;

III. In scenes of disorder, in circumstances so adverse to study, the mind itself degenerates ; the attention is distracted ; the trains of thought turn naturally on the dangers which have been with difficulty escaped, and on the evils which are still apprehended : the mind is almost constantly in a state of anxiety and passion, very unfavourable to the exercise of judgment, and to the cultivation of taste,

depraved
it.

Soundness of judgment and delicacy of taste are intimately connected with benevolence and virtue. The former is warped and blunted by whatever corrupts and restrains the latter. Perpetual violence and bloodshed, political broils and parties, personal prejudices and animosities, must repress and deaden the sensibilities of the heart, and pervert the judgment and conscience, by habitually studying to justify what is wrong. Even sedentary men, and sacred characters, who live in times of disorder and violence,

though

though they mingle not actively in the scenes of contention, yet feel themselves naturally and unavoidably attached to one or the other side, and consequently agitated in private, and through sympathy, by all the passions of their friends or party. They can seldom either speak or write with a temperate spirit and unbiassed mind. They consider not the means, if the end be attained; or they hope that the end will sanctify the means. Monks and clergy themselves were far from being free from these effects of party and civil war; and the two Hincmars, the uncle and his nephew, are eminent examples of the irritation and resentment which they produce on men of learning and in holy office.

IV. The kind of education which the learned received, and the subjects with which their talents were chiefly occupied, injured their temper, their taste, and the interests of learning. Instead of the classics, they were taught to read the fathers: for science they substituted the authority of system, and hypothesis for fact. Superstition, which encouraged astrology, produced generally a blind and credulous admiration of all that appeared supernatural. The annals of Eginhart and of Fulda shew an attention to the phænomena of nature superior to other authors, yet are by no means free from the prejudices of superstition, and the indiscriminating credulity of the age. The kinds of criminal trial called the judgments of God, the trial of the cross, of boiling water, &c. are unequivocal evidences of the influence of superstition and credulity on the judgment and understanding of all ranks,

Subjects of
learning.

ranks, learned and unlearned. Some feeble attempts were made, in the reign of Lewis the Mild, to abolish them; but they continued to prevail, and were approved and confirmed by the council of Narbonne, A. D. 902; of Tours, A. D. 925; and of Rheims, A. D. 991. Men capable of enduring and approving these, must have been equally destitute of knowledge and of sound judgment; and to these all their other habits and associations must have been assimilated.

Ignorance and bigotry beget error and controversy; and nothing is more adverse to learning, than the spirit and style of controversy. A heated temper clouds the understanding, and introduces into style all the frivolous distinctions and scholastic niceties of sects and parties. Instead of the great and important doctrines of either religion or science, the mere controverted point becomes the main subject of attention; and when it is debated as the only thing interesting, they are neglected, and true learning must decline.

Among the subjects which chiefly occupied the learned in the ninth and tenth centuries, were the manner of Christ's birth, which was keenly, largely, and grossly discussed by Radbert and Ratram: Whether the body of Christ in the mystery of the eucharist, is the same which was born of the Virgin? and what becomes of the consecrated bread, under which that body is veiled when eaten by the communicants? These questions occupied, at great length, Raban, Maur, Hincmar, and a number of others,

the most eminent writers of the age. The worship of images; the nature of the soul, whether it is but one and the same in all men; whether the righteous, after the resurrection, shall see God with their bodily eyes; and above all, the doctrines of predestination and grace, and the histories of relics and saints, engrossed the talents and taste of the learned.

Some facts shew in a striking light the depth of ignorance and credulity to which the men of this age had sunk. The error of the Anthropomorphites was ancient. But now it is mentioned as the more general belief, that God was materially seated on a throne, as a great prince, surrounded with his angelic attendants. This belief was probably encouraged and maintained by the paintings now common on the altar and walls of the churches. Some even believed that Michael the archangel celebrated mass before this Supreme Being every Monday, and therefore frequented the church on that rather than any other day of the week.

Towards the end of the tenth century, the belief became almost universal that the world was to terminate with that century. Bernard, a hermit of Thoringia, taught that God had revealed it to him. Some of the clergy preached it openly, in their sermons, in Paris. The army of Otho I., being on a march while the Sun became eclipsed, halted, under the apprehension of an universal and awful dissolution.

Apprehension of the end of the world.

* Hist. Liter. de la France, tom. vi. p. 10.

Men became listless and indifferent to every worldly object and pursuit. They abandoned their worldly property and relations, and sought refuge in monasteries and churches, and caverns of the earth. The government at last humanely and wisely interposed, and employed some of the most sober-minded divines to write and preach against this frenzy ; which, however, did not altogether subside till some progress was made in the following century. When they still beheld the Sun running his race as usual, after the full lapse of the thousand years, and saw the earth continue stable and unchanged, then they began to perceive the delusion, and to hope that their apprehensions were without foundation ¹⁰.

Finally, some literary men occupied themselves with writing those fabulous kinds of pieces, that, from the popular language in which they were then written for the vulgar, were called romances ¹¹. At this period, or about the conclusion of the tenth century, they were probably in their rudest state, and none of them seem to have reached the present times.

¹⁰ Hist. Liter. de la France, tom. vii. p. 10.

¹¹ Ibid. p. 12.

SECT. II.

Biographical Sketches of some of the most distinguished Authors in France, from the Death of Charlemagne, A. D. 814, to the Accession of Hugh Capet, A. D. 987:

THEGAN, who wrote memoirs of the life of Thegan. Lewis the Mild, was born of a noble family in France about the close of the eighth century. His person was tall and handsome, his mind was generous, and his manners gentle and engaging.

Having received the best education which the times could afford, he excelled his contemporaries in capacity and diligence; he became learned and eloquent, qualified to write with success in prose and verse, and to fill any office which might occur in church or state. Being chosen chor-episcopus, or co-adjutor to the bishop of Treves, he applied himself industriously to the duties of his office, and occupied his time more with public preaching, than with private study. We

ⁱ Miramur meritò sapientis munera montis
Doctrinam, mores, carmina, dicta, animum.
Nec minùs exteriùs miramur sancta staturæ
Incrementa tuæ, membra, manus, faciem.
Nos parvos humiles, &c.

Walafridi Strabonis Poemata apud Canis. tom. ii.

This poet, who was intimate with him, has sketched his life and character both in prose and verse.

know

know little of his private history. A faithful minister of the church in an inferior station, and in ordinary times, will find few opportunities of signalising himself, or of entering his name in the record of history. He died before he reached the 50th year of his age.

His principal work, which hath survived the lapse of so many ages, is the History, or Memoirs, of the Life of Lewis the Mild. He wrote it in the life-time of that prince; continuing it from before his accession to the throne to the year 837. It is written in the form of annals, with brevity and truth; but it has no richness of materials, nor any kind of beauty of style. It furnishes a description of the person of Lewis, and some anecdotes of his private life only, more than what we find in the other histories and annals of those times. Thegan inveighs with a peculiar vehemence against those of the emperor's persecutors, the bishops especially, whom his royal munificence had raised from the lowest rank to the honour and power which they thus abused².

Walafrid
Strabo.

Walafrid, the abbé de Richenou, flourished when surnames, taken variously from accidents, facts, or personal qualities, were become customary. He was squint-eyed, and therefore was called Strabo. He was born A. D. 807; but his family, and the particular place of his birth, are unknown.

² Thegan, Pref. Cave, Hist. Liter. Hist. Liter. de la France.

His genius was thought far above the common rate. He wrote poetry with applause at the age of fifteen, and in three years more, he was generally conversant with the literary world. He was educated a monk in the abbey of Richenou near Constance, and afterwards prosecuted his studies at more length in the abbey of Fulda. Some are of opinion that he was the author of the Annals which bear the name of that abbey. His rank, his talents, and prudence, were such as to recommend him to the confidence of Lewis king of Germany, as an ambassador on special business to Charles the Bald, his brother. He died in the course of this embassy, in the 42d year of his age, the 17th July, A. D. 849¹.

He wrote several treatises in prose, and a great number of poems. Of the former, his Account of the Ordinances and Worship of the Christian Church deserves our first attention. He gives a plain and just view of the origin and history of churches, altars, and divine worship; and, on the whole; considers the numerous and pompous ceremonies then used, as innovations on the original institutions, and derogatory from the simplicity and dignity of the gospel plan⁴.

In his Sermon on the Destruction of Jerusalem, Luke, xix. 38, &c., he treats the subject first lite-

¹ D'Achery Spicileg. tom. iv. p. 420—422.

⁴ " Quod nunc agimus multiplici orationum, lectionum, cantilenarum, & consecrationum officio; totum hoc apostoli, & post ipsos proximi, ut creditur, orationibus, & commemoratione passionis Dominicæ, sicut ipse præcepit, agebant simpliciter."

rally, describing from the history of Josephus, corresponding with prophecy, the actual and deplorable fate of this devoted city; and then analogically, or mystically, applies the subject to the soul of man, shewing, that in as far as the structure of the mind is reared of evil thoughts and passions, it must, like Jerusalem, provoke the judgment of God, and be subject to ruin. His description of Jerusalem during the siege, is clear and animated. After narrating the other horrid effects of the famine, of husbands and wives, parents and children, tearing the food from each other's hands and teeth, he concludes the paragraph, saying, "*Jacebant igitur corpora juvenum per plateas civitatis, magis fame quàm ætate defecta. Nullus juxta morem sepeliebatur, quia nec multitudo morientium, nec virium debilitas, hoc sinebat. Nonnulli corpora carorum suorum sepelire curantes, super ipsorum tumulos spiritum emittebant. Cùmque tabes magnus et intolerabilis fœtor essent in civitate, cœperunt corpora mortuorum extra muros projicere; intantum ut corpora ipsis muris cœquari viderentur.*"

His other prose works are, a Commentary on the Scriptures, and several Legends.

Cunifus hath published one hundred and fifteen of his poems, of various lengths and merit, on religion and morals, on church and state, on saints and kings, on private and public characters.

The Acts and Life of Mamma, a Saint, and martyr of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, is one of the longest,

longest, consisting of twenty-six chapters, or about eight hundred lines. Like the other Legends of those times, it might be founded on facts; but appears, from the absurdities which it relates, to be chiefly composed of fables. It describes the country of that Saint, his education and amiable qualities, his retirement into solitude amidst the beasts of the desert, and the various miraculous works which he performed there; the sights which he saw, and the voices which he heard; his return to Cæsarea, where, being accused of magic, extraordinary miracles were done by him, or for him, in his vindication: he was invulnerable by either fire or lions, or popular lapidation. The latter, described in the 24th chapter, being the shortest, I shall quote for that reason, as a specimen of this Author's hexameter poetry. The title is, "How he was stoned by the people, yet unhurt."

*Ista videns populus; fremitu vultuque minaci
Murmura longa cient, celsâ tum voce virum vir
Hortatur, poenas inimico à sanguine fumant,
E medioque magnum sævo cruciamine tollant.
Continuo ad lapides animo fervente legendos
Oppositas rupere moras; fit grando sine imbre;
Saxa volant, sanctumque ruunt super, aggere facto,
Gaudentes abeunt, sese vicisse putantes:
Sed potius victos rerum docet exitus ipsos.
Nil nocuere quidem tanto sub turbine Mammam;
Se verò æternis damnarunt crimine pœnis.
Post modicum Mammam, ut facta silentia circum
Sensit, ab aggesto surgens illæsus acervo,
Discedit, laudes Domino gratesque frequentans.*

The poem "Hortulus," the Little, or Flower, Garden, has been much extolled. It consists of

more than two hundred lines. After a short preface, in which he states the necessity of labour and manure, in order to success in gardening, he reviews the operations of the Spring, and the propriety of irrigation and shade in case of severe drought or scorching heat, on committing the tender seeds to the soil:

*Quippe siti metuens graciles torpescere fibras,
Flumina pura cadis inferre capacibus acri
Curavi studio, et propriis infundere palmis
Guttatim, nè forte velocior impetus undas
Ingereret nimias, et semina jasta moveret.*

He then proposes to treat of the names and virtues of plants:

*Nunc opus ingeniis, docili nunc pectore et ore,
Nomina quo possim viresque attingere tantæ
Messis, ut ingenti res parvæ ornentur honore.*

He treats accordingly of sage, rue, southernwood, gourd, pompion, wormwood, horehound, fennel, sword-grass, libisticum, chervil, the lily, poppy, sclarea, mint, pennyroyal, parsley, betony, agrimony, ambrosia, nep, radish, the rose.

His plan is first to describe each of these, which he does very shortly, in its general appearance, and then in its supposed virtues. The radish, for example, could not be known from his description; but he says, that either the root eaten, or the seed bruised and drank, is a good remedy for a cough:

Hinc

Hinc raphanum radice potens, satoque comarum
 Tegmine sublatum, extremus facit ordo videri.
 Cujus amara satis, quatienti viscera tussim,
 Mansa premit radix : triti quoque seminis haustus
 Eiusdem vitio pestis persæpe medetur.

The two following verses are quoted from his
 Ode on the Nativity of Christ :

Virgo conceptu gravidatur almo ;
 Conjugum mutæ sterilesque fibræ
 Jam vigent donis uteri prophetat
 Carcere vates.

Virgo portantem veneranda portat,
 Lactat alto rem, vehit et parentem,
 Spiritu prægnans operantis in se
 Mater opusque.

On the whole, from a general review, and even from these views and specimens, of Walafrid's poetry, so destitute of spirit and of every kind of beauty, though selected as his best verses from some of his best poems, we cannot but form a low opinion of his poetical talents, and of the genius of the age in which he was deemed a poet of the first magnitude.

The Authors of the Literary History of France appear to have entertained a different opinion, without, however, condescending on any particular passage in support of it. " He deserves," say they, in concluding their account of his Life and Writings, " to be ranked among the most eminent writers of his time. There were few authors who wrote better than he did, in either prose or verse. In his prose there is a purity, a smoothness, and an arrangement of language, which,

“ which, though imperfect, was then very rare.
 “ His poetical pieces have not all the same
 “ beauty. In some, there is an almost impene-
 “ trable obscurity ; in others, there is want of
 “ fire, of elevation, of poetic genius : but in some
 “ of them we see all those qualities beautifully
 “ united. The Flower Garden, Hortulus, con-
 “ tains verses which would do no dishonour to
 “ the best of poets.”

There is nothing almost in the lives of the Authors of this period which can render them interesting. The subjects of their works belong to ecclesiastical history and theology, rather than to general literature ; and there is nothing in the style of any of them which can gratify an improved taste, or which deserves particular selection as specimens of good writing. Yet as one of them far outshone his cotemporaries, both in the extent of his political influence, and in the number and variety of his writings, a sketch of his life, and a summary view of the principal of his works, may be acceptable ; and the more, that they will afford an opportunity of making us somewhat acquainted with the principal characters of the age, either as his friends or opponents.

Hincmar

Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, was born A. D. 806. His parents, and the place of his nativity, are unknown ; but he appears to have been related to Bernard II. count of Thoulouse, and some other noble families of the kingdom. He was educated under the abbè Hilduin, in the

5 Tom. vi. p. 76.

abbey

abbey of St. Denys; and gave early proofs of superior talents, and diligence in the cultivation of them. His rank and genius procured him early access to the court of Lewis the Mild; and his residence there gave him an early turn for political enquiry and management. He soon acquired a general knowledge of the constitution and government of both church and state, as far as they were then studied; for in those times it scarcely extended beyond the canons and Capitularies, with which young Hincmar was found familiarly acquainted. Lewis listened to his counsel when he was little more than twenty years of age, honoured him with his friendship, and at his request reformed and improved the abbey of St. Denys, where he had received his education.

While this reform was carrying on, the abbot Hilduin, having incurred the Emperor's displeasure, was banished into Saxony. On this occasion Hincmar shewed a warm attachment to his master, a generous temper, an active mind, and a considerable influence with both the court and clergy. With the leave and benediction of the latter, he attended the abbot personally in his exile; and at the same time solicited from the Emperor his recal so zealously, that he succeeded, and the year following Hilduin was restored.

He soon after shewed that he was far from being the dupe of veneration and affection. When Lothaire revolted against his father, and divided the empire into factions, Hilduin united to the former, and studied to carry over with him

him to the same side a partisan so active and political. But Hincmar adhered firmly to the Emperor; and, on the restoration of the latter to the throne, was reinstated in his former residence and influence at court.

He appears, however, to have enjoyed no particular office beyond the walls of the monastery, during the life of Lewis. On the accession of Charles the Bald, who was solicitous to secure his friendship and influence, he was placed at the head of three monasteries, Notre Dame, St. Germain at Compiègne, and St. Germer de Flaiix. He was now considered as court-manager of the church. Through him the clergy addressed their applications to the emperor; and in most or all of the assemblies, national or provincial, he attended, and by his counsel and eloquence frequently overruled their deliberations, and dictated their decrees.

In the year 845, he was raised to the high rank of archbishop of Rheims, which placed him more ostensibly at the head of the Gallican church, and qualified him for defending her independence and liberty more effectually against the ambition of the popes. Several of them who reigned during his life, esteemed him, and courted his friendship and influence, by conferring on him peculiar honours and privileges; but others discerned his real character, and studied to discourage and repress his ambition.

He took the lead in almost all the public business of the kingdom: he presided in the great councils

cils of the nobles and clergy: he prescribed the oaths A. D. 860 at Coblentz, with which the assembly of the clergy and nobles bound the princes respectively, as to the limits and administration of their kingdoms: by him the ceremony of almost every royal coronation and marriage was performed.

Amidst so many honours, such influence, and the frequent changes of government and parties, it was not easy to be, and appear to be, blameless. He could scarcely fail to be proud; he was certainly severe, and he was suspected of duplicity. Charles the Bald, his patron and friend, did not always trust him. He believed that he had a strong connection with Lothaire; that he had favoured Lewis of Germany's invasion of France; and though it gave much pain to Hincmar, Charles, in consequence of the latter, required him at the council of Pontion to renew his oath of allegiance to him. It shook, but did not overthrow, their friendship. When Charles set out for Italy A. D. 877, he left Hincmar one of his executors, in trust, during his absence.

Such a multiplicity of business involved him of necessity in much trouble and care. He compared his monastic retirement to a ship at anchor; his quitting it to the cutting of her cable, which exposed him, under pretext of public utility, to the merciless tempest and to the devouring billows. He died A. D. 882, in the 74th year of his age.

But,

But, in order to form a more precise estimate of his character, it will be necessary to enter more minutely into some of the transactions of a literary nature, in which he was particularly engaged.

Gothescalc.

One of the first disputes in which he publicly engaged, was on the subjects of grace and predestination, against Gothescalc, surnamed Fulgentius, and monk of Orbais, in the diocese of Soissons. Gothescalc was a native of Saxony; though others rather believe that he was born in France. He was educated in the abbey of Fulda, and was the intimate companion and friend of Walafriid Strabo. At an early period he shewed an undisciplined and restless temper. Having repented of his monastic vow, it became the subject of clerical and even of royal deliberation, whether or not he could be freed from his sacred and solemn engagements. He changed at least his monastery, and received priest's orders in the monastery of Orbais. In a pilgrimage to Italy, he took the liberty, in presence of Nothingus bishop of Verona, to assert his belief of a double predestination—of the righteous to life, and of the wicked to death.

Raban.

Raban, archbishop of Mayence, and a native of that city, educated a monk also in the abbey of Fulda, and afterwards a celebrated teacher there, was a man of great zeal and industry. Having heard of the supposed error of Gothescalc, he wrote to Italy for full information on the subject; and he assembled a council, which Lewis the king of Germany attended, in which
Gothescalc

Gothescalc was required to give an account of his faith. Persuasion was vain. The heretical monk not only remained unmoved in his error, but he charged his accuser with the contrary as an error, viz. that the wicked are not predestined to punishment; and farther, that the atonement of Christ extends to all without exception; and that man, even in his fallen state, is a free agent.

The assembly finding that they could make nothing of this obstinate and petulant monk, remitted him to Hincmar, as his diocesan. Though the latter seems, from his own report, to have been satisfied that the culprit meant not to teach that God had, by his predestination, laid men under the necessity of sinning in order to punishment, but only had so connected sin and suffering in the plan of his moral government, that the wicked cannot escape punishment; yet he caught at once the spirit of Raban, and prosecuted his plan of discipline against Gothescalc.

The year following, A. D. 849, he summoned him to the council of Quiercy. There he was again examined, in presence of judges then reckoned the most competent and powerful; and being still found obstinate and incorrigible, he was condemned as a heretic, degraded from the priesthood, and ordained to be beaten with rods and imprisoned. It is shocking even to record that he was whipped accordingly, in the presence of the bishops and of king Charles.

Charles the Bald, till he cast the book containing his opinions into the fire.

Still, however, in his imprisonment he maintained his opinion, and continued to excite no small attention. All the men of learning, and some of them by order of the Emperor, Ratram monk of Cerby, Prudentius bishop of Troyes, Lupus abbot of Ferrara, Amalarius deacon of Treves, Joannes Erigena Scotus, &c: engaged in this controversy: a controversy which, in its subject, however simple as a scriptural doctrine and fact both in ancient and modern times, hath often agitated the minds of philosophers and theologians; and which, in proportion as it involves metaphysical subtleties, never can be understood unanimously, nor settled with precision*.

The excerpt from Hincmar's letter to pope Nicholas I. on the subject, quoted below⁷, will serve to

* Flodoardi Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 14, 15. Hist. Liter. de la France, tom. v. passim. Dupin, Eccles. Hist. Century 9th, ch. 2.

7 " Et nunc ideo breviter de eo Sanctitati vestræ suggero, quoniam antequam ad episcopatus ordinem pervenirem, sicut abbas suus & monachi, inter quos fuerat conversatus, ei testimonium perhibent, in metropolis ecclesiæ Rhemorum monasterio, in Sueffonicâ parochiâ, quæ Orbacis dicitur, habitu monachus, mente ferinus, quietis impatiens, & vocum novitate delectans, ac inter suos mobilitas: è noxiâ singularis, de omnibus quæ in his regionibus perverse tunc temporis sensa cognoverat quædam sibi elegit capitula. ut novitate vocum innotesci valeret, utque simplicium & devotorum sensus pervertere, & magistri sibi nomen usurpando,

to shew his temper, his style, and his sentiments of Gothescalc, better than any extract from his large work on predestination*. Having declared his willingness to vindicate his conduct towards Gothescalc, and the sentence of condemnation passed against him, from which he had appealed to Rome, he proposed candidly to

“usurpando, post se discipulos trahere, illisque, qui ad
 “sua vota, auribus prurientes, magistros sibi coacervare
 “decertant, quærere indebitè, (quoniam legitime non
 “poterat,) simulatione vitæ religioſæ & doctrinæ, præſſe.
 “Quisque à Rhemorum chorepiscopo, qui tunc erat,
 “contra regulas presbyter ordinatus, à monasterio irregu-
 “lariter exiſtens, peragratis regionibus plurimis, &
 “exitioſa ſemina ſator peſſimus feminans, tandem in
 “Mogontina civitate habita ſynodo, Rabano archiepiscopo
 “libellum ſui erroris porrigens, damnatus ab omnibus
 “Germaniæ episcopis, cum literis ſynodalibus ad
 “metropolim Rhemorum, cui jam auctore domino
 “præeram, eſt remiſſus. Poſtea autem à Belgicæ
 “Rhemorum ac Galliarum provinciarum episcopis au-
 “ditis, & inventus hæreticus, quia reſpiſcere à ſua præ-
 “vitate non voluit, ne aliis noceret, qui ſibi prodeſſe
 “nolebat, iudicio præfatarum provinciarum episcoporum,
 “in noſtra parochia, quoniam Rothadus de cujus
 “parochia erat, illi neſciebat reſiſtere, novitates amans
 “timebatur a nobis ne diſceret prava ſentire, qui no-
 “luit diſcere recta docere: neve idem Gothescalcus
 “cum aliis communem vitam ducens errori ſuo faceret
 “eſſe communes, monaſteriali cuſtodix mancipatus eſt,
 “docente apoſtolo, “Hæreticum hominem poſt primam
 “& ſecundam correptionem devota, ſciens ſubverſum
 “eſſe huiusmodi & proprio iudicio condemnatum.”

* Flodoardi Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iii. c. 14, 15. This author calls his work on Predeſtination, “volumen ingens.” It is extremely heavy and tedious, conſiſting chiefly of collections of paſſages from the ſacred ſcripture, and from the fathers.

ſtate

state the subject to his holiness, to prevent any undue prejudice.

The substance of the passage is, that Gothescalc, being a man of a wandering, savage, innovating temper, having obtained priest's orders in an irregular manner, and become a heretic, he was condemned and imprisoned, to prevent him from propagating his error.

It would be tedious to review all his works, in two volumes folio, and even to enumerate their titles, amounting to about seventy, including his epistles and canons on subjects, some of them indeed of importance, both civil and ecclesiastical. I did intend to have analysed several of his works, and particularly those which relate to his dispute with his nephew, Hincmar bishop of Laon; but the attempt has satisfied me that a very short account of it would be uninteresting, and the length of a particular detail would exceed the purpose of utility*. I shall therefore subjoin only as a specimen of his poetry, for he wrote several poems, the Inscription which he placed on the altar, of the church of St. Mary at Rheims:

Hanc aram Domini genitricis honore dicatam
Cultor ubique suis decoravit episcopus Hincmar
Muneribus sacris functus hac sede sacerdos,
Jam bene completis centenis octies annis,

* An account of several of his works may be seen in Dupin's Eccles. Hist. Century 9th, ch. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; and of them all, though very shortly, in the 6th volume of the Hist. Liter. de la France.

Quadraginta simul quinto volvente sub ipfis.
Cum juvenis Carolus regeret diademata regni.
Hunc sibi pastorem poscentibus urbis alumnis:
Et ad imaginem Dei genitricis in ipso altari;
Virgo Maria tenet hominem, regemque, Deumque,
Visceribus propriis natum de flamine sancto.

Cardinal Bona entertained an opinion of Hincmar so unfavourable, that he was doubtful whether good or evil predominated in his character :

Dubio vitiorum ac virtutum temperamento.

He certainly possessed an irritable and strong temper, which, with eminent intellectual talents, high rank, and great influence, rendered him haughty, insolent, and domineering. He spoke and wrote to princes and kings, nearly in the same dictatorial style as he did to his nephew and other inferiors. He was universally consulted; and he was respected and feared, rather than esteemed and loved. His ambition, his love of enterprise, his ardour and impatience to attain his end, involved him in pursuits and unwarrantable means of conducting them, which violated integrity, and gave generally an artful colour to his character. He admitted or rejected principles, flattered or calumniated partisans, embraced the same person as his friend, or opposed him as an enemy, according to the end which for the time he meant to serve. In this way he treated his own nephew, and the emperors Lothaire and Charles the Bald. When the decretals, generally understood to have been forged in support of the papal power, opposed his designs, he condemned

demned them as false ; yet when they favoured his views, he admitted and quoted them.

His bold policy, however; and his determined mind, were useful, at the time in which he lived, in counteracting the papal encroachments on the independence and liberty of the Gallican church ; in resisting, in several cases, the undue influence of the civil power over the clergy ; and in checking the disorders, and maintaining the laws, of the church.

The scriptures and ecclesiastical canons were familiar to him, and form the substance of his arguments on all the subjects, religious, civil, or trivial, of which he treated : yet he was by no means an accurate nor a profound theologian. He thought and wrote diffusely rather than acutely. He exercised his memory more than his judgment. His works are always full of matter on the subject of which he treats, but are destitute of arrangement, generally of imagination and ornament, and altogether of taste.

“ His style,” says Dupin ¹⁰, “ is fitter a great deal for precepts and instructions, than for works of doctrine and eloquence ; for it is clear and plain, but neither smooth nor elegant.”

“ Plainness and perspicuity,” say the Authors of the Literary History of France, “ form the distinguishing character of his writings ; but

¹⁰ 9th Century 9th, c. 6.

“ they

“ they are, diffuse to excess, without any elegance or polish. His style is more didactic than eloquent. When he attempts any thing like history, as in the Legend of St. Remi, he seems destitute not only of taste, but altogether of genius for writing. Yet there is a variety of style in his other works, suited to their subject. Those written in his own cause or vindication, show subtilty and address; those which he wrote against rivals and adversaries, vehemence, bitterness, and invective; those to his superiors, timidity and meanness; and to his inferiors, pride and imperiousness.”

“ Hist. Liter. de la France, tom. v. p. 591, 592.



CHAP. V.

The History of the Arts in France, from Charlemagne, A. D. 814, to Hugh Capet, A. D. 987.

SECT. I.

Of Agriculture, &c.

WHEREVER there is so extensive a sea-coast, ^{Fishing.} and rivers so numerous and large, as in France, we might suppose a constant and plentiful supply of fish. This, however, we find is not always the case. The coast of Britain is at least equally favourable as the coast of France; yet, till the arrival of Wilfred bishop of York, in the eighth century, the Anglo-Saxons were incapable of catching any other fish than eels^{*}.

Time and experience are requisite to discover the banks and channels haunted by the best kinds of fish, to prepare and use the tackle requisite for catching them successfully, and to acquire the habits of patience and courage, which must be often severely tried, in the prosecution of this art.

^{*} Bedæ Eccles. Hist. lib. iv. c. 14.

The rivers and coasts of France are not only subject to strong currents, and open to the violence of storms from the Atlantic and German oceans, but in the ninth and tenth centuries were peculiarly exposed to the piracies and hostile fleets of the Normans. For these reasons, it is probable that the fisheries on the coasts and great rivers of France declined. History is not altogether silent on the subject of the fisheries. There are charters, both of Lewis the Mild and of Charles the Bald, which afford evidence, that fishing-grounds were known and frequented, and that there were fishers by profession, both in the Rhine and Loire *. Their nets, indeed, were broken, and their occupation in general so disturbed, by the disorders of the country and the Norman hostilities, as to have amounted in time almost to a total prohibition.

Pasturage.

The pasturage of sheep, cattle, and hogs, we have seen in the preceding Book, was an object of great attention among not only the Gauls, but the ruder nations who conquered them. The laws relating to cattle form a great part of the juridical code of these nations. We have no reason to think, that the art of feeding cattle of all kinds declined immediately after the death of Charlemagne. But no sooner was property rendered insecure by the civil wars and the depredations of a foreign enemy, than the feeders and dealers in cattle must have met such dis-

* See various authorities in Ducange, ad voc. *Piscatio*, *Piscatores*, &c.

couragements as would force them to abandon that kind of trade and culture: for who will take the trouble, and hazard the expence, of rearing a stock, which he knows almost with certainty that he shall never enjoy? Laws were enacted against internal plunderers; but laws without force and government could afford no protection against ravaging and invading armies. That pasturage declined, therefore, during this period, there can be no doubt; but we have no means of ascertaining the degree, or of comparing the numbers reared, and the proportional value of them, with that of the period immediately preceding. We can only observe, that the provision made by law for the bishops in the visitation of their dioceses, and for the king's commissioners in their juridical circuits, continued nearly now as before; viz. the bishop, forty loaves, three calves or lambs, three modii of liquor, one hog, three fowls, fifteen eggs, and four pecks of corn for his horses: the count, or abbot, received about a fourth less than the bishop³.

The same causes must have affected the state of Agriculture. Every person, who reflects on the circumstances of a country while it is the seat of war, must be sensible that there can be little leisure, and no encouragement, either for sowing or reaping. The cattle and instruments of labour are carried off, or destroyed; the farmers themselves are engaged in the military service,

Agriculture.

³ Capitul. lib. iv. 73. Ducange, ad voc. Frisinga.

or fly for their lives from a ferocious enemy; their grain for seed is consumed, or is hidden by themselves in places unfavourable, and spoiled: systems of culture and rotation of crops are forgotten; nothing more is cultivated than necessity requires. Many of the most active farmers perish: the regular and active habits of those who remain are broken, and never recover their former energy and order. Hence we cannot expect agriculture, however flourishing over France in the commencement of this period, to have continued to prosper during the course of the ninth and tenth centuries.

The art, however, could not be lost, which was planted in Gaul by the natives, and improved by the Romans; that had taken deep root, and spread over all the country, before it was disturbed by the invasions of the Goths and Germans. The disturbance which it received, even from these invasions, was but of temporary duration. Their ancient laws, as well as those which they enacted after their settlement in France, were generally favourable to the art of husbandry. Even though it had been checked by the wars of the Merovingian princes and of their mayors, though it had made no progress in improvement till the death of Charlemagne, it is probable that it had not declined much from the times of the Romans till the beginning of the ninth century.

Sowing.

The few facts which occur in the meagre chronicles of that and the following century, confirm this opinion. We find the same kinds of grain

grain cursorily specified or referred to, and the same seasons of sowing and reaping observed, as amongst the Romans. The autumnal sowing deserves particular notice, both as it shews a knowledge of agriculture in an improved state, and a variety of grains, which, according to their hardy or more delicate nature, suited the severer and milder seasons of the year, as well as the longer and shorter periods of their growth after sowing till maturity*.

The custom of ploughing with oxen rather Ploughing. than horses, so much recommended by the Romans, appears to have prevailed in France at the time of which I write. A whole farm seems to have required four ploughs: each plough required four oxen, or cattle: and every farmer, or vassal, who occupied a plough of land, or fourth part of a farm, was bound to work with his plough and cattle one whole day, in tilling the land of his landlord, or seigneur. If his cattle were weak, so that four could not go a whole day in the plough, he was required to join his with those of another, or to work two days instead of one. He who kept no cattle of his

* "Frumenta quoque & legumina, imbrium assiduitate corrupta, vel colligi non poterunt, vel collecta computrescebant. In quibusdam vero locis, ex inundatione fluminum, aquis in plano stagnantibus, autumnalis satio ita impedita est, ut penitus nil frugum ante verum tempus feminaretur." EGINHARTI *Annales*, A. D. 820, 821.

own, was obliged to work for his superior three days as a labourer^s.

Notwithstanding the fertility of both France and Germany, and the state of agriculture, which we have represented as not greatly inferior to what it was in the times of the Romans, they were not exempted from occasional and severe famines. They must have been then the more severe, on account of the want of that intercourse and more equal distribution of corn and other provisions which merchandize and liberal trade produce.

In the year 850, says the Author of the Annals of Fulda, the inhabitants, chiefly towards the banks of the Rhine, were visited with a severe famine. A modius, probably a bushel, of

^s “ Pro nimia reclamazione quæ ad nos venit de hominibus ecclesiasticis, seu fiscalinis, qui non erant adjurnati (i. e. in jus vocati), quando in Cœnomanico Pago fuimus, visum est nobis unâ cum consultu fidelium nostrorum statuere, ut quicumque de prædictis hominibus quartam facti (i. e. prædii) tenet, cum suis animalibus seniori suo pleniter unum diem cum suo aratro in campo dominico aret : et postea nullum servitium ei manuale in ipsâ hebdomadâ à seniore suo requiratur. Et qui tanta animalia non habet, ut in uno die hoc explere valeat, perficiat prædictum opus in duobus diebus. Et qui solummodo ita invalida ut per se non possit arare quatuor animalia habet, cum eis socialis sibi aliis aret uno die in campo senioris, & uno die postmodum in ipsâ hebdomadâ opera manuum faciat. Qui nihil ex his facere potest, neque animalia habet per tres dies seniori suo a mane usque ad vespèram operetur,” &c. Capitul. lib. v. 151.

corn,

corn, sold at Mayence for ten shekels of silver, 3 L . 10 s . sterling. The archbishop Raban, who then resided at Winzella, a village of his parish, maintained more than three hundred paupers, besides those whom he fed daily in his own house. A woman, quite exhausted, coming with the other pensioners, requested leave to warm herself, and fell down at the threshold irrecoverably dead with hunger. Her child, whom she still retained, insensible of her condition, laying hold of her, continued, through hunger, to suck her milkless breast. A man, with his wife and infant son, went towards Thuringia, in the hope of finding there more abundant provision. The journey was long, and their hunger increased. In despair, as they were journeying through a forest, "Is it not better," said the father, "that the flesh of this boy be consumed, than that he, and we all, perish?" The more delicate and tender mother remonstrated: but the father, withdrawing the child from her, had retired at some distance to have sacrificed parental affection to animal instinct, when, in the act of raising his sword, as he lifted his eyes to Heaven, he beheld two wolves devouring a stag which they had just seized. With amazement he ran, and, chasing away the wolves, he brought the half-living and bleeding carcase, with his living son, to the mother. She saw the blood, and her heart fainted within her; yet, recovering, she enjoyed the providential feast, and joined with her husband in devout acknowledgment.

These

These facts serve to shew the degree of the famine, which was extreme among the lower ranks.

Gardening.

The Hortulus of Walafrid, already noticed in the preceding Chapter, shews that gardening was not altogether neglected; yet the paucity of the articles, as well as the poverty in the description of them, afford good reason for suspecting that neither herbs nor flowers were highly cultivated. The principal gardens of those times were confined within the walls of castles and monasteries, and furnished no great room for the exercise of botanic taste and genius.

*** Culture of the vine.**

The culture of the vine continued to be an interesting and profitable branch of husbandry in France, and had extended generally over the Rhine. They were by no means inattentive in those times to the difference of species of wines, and to the various growths and flavours of the same species in different soils and seasons⁷.

The price of wine was nearly the same in the end of the tenth century, as when Columella wrote, in the middle of the first; about from eight-pence to one shilling a gallon⁸.

⁷ " Vinum etiam cujus parvus proventus eodem anno fuit, propter caloris inopiam, acerbum & insuave fiebat." Eginhart, A. D. 820.

⁸ Continuat. Chron. Flod. A. D. 976, 977.

Twenty modii of corn, and twenty of wine, were valued at 70 solidi, each solidus 3 s.; which is 10*l.* 10*s.* sterling. The wine, about 80 gallons, is 4*l.* The twenty modii of corn, each modius 6*s.* 6*d.* sterling, make 6*l.* 10*s.* sterling⁹.

The price of a horse, A. D. 836, 30 solidi, supposing them silver, was 4*l.* 10*s.* sterling¹⁰.

Flodoard mentions a horse, A. D. 931, which had lived one hundred years.

A hundred geese, A. D. 862, were equivalent to one pound of silver, or 3*l.* sterling; which is about 7*d.* sterling each¹¹.

Of ARCHITECTURE.

The ninth and tenth centuries furnish us with scarcely any materials on the subject of Architecture. It was a period for ruining, rather than for rearing, edifices. In such as were built, castles, bridges, and monasteries, utility and strength were the only principles likely to be regarded.

Castles became absolutely necessary for every ^{Castles.} man whose property could afford, and whose rank required, protection; but it evidently appears by some laws intended to restrain them,

⁹ Mabillon de Re Diplomat. p. 543.

¹⁰ Ibid. 524.

¹¹ Ibid. 536.

that

that they had too rapidly increased, and become the haunts and security of the lawless and disorderly.

Monasteries.

Besides strength, obscurity was studied in the situation of monasteries; it being the nature of superstition to unite gloom with devotion, inasmuch as to form generally a characteristical distinction betwixt it and true religion. In this age many monasteries were built. To found them, was the sacrifice of the wealthy for their guilt. It was held out by the clergy as the noblest evidence of a munificent and pious mind: and they were become requisite as the common receptacle, not merely of the seriously religious, but of all the indolent, idle, and unprovided or unprotected, who had influence, importunity, and craft enough to procure them admission.

Charters of erection, and memoirs of foundations, of abbeys and nunneries innumerable, accordingly, we find among the records of this period; but they describe their funds and privileges only, and never take notice of the form or plan of the building.

Bridges.

Bridges became necessary, not only for promoting the facility of general intercourse proportioned to the populousness and civilisation of the country, but for expediting the march of armies from one region to another.

The frequent ordonances respecting them, in the reign especially of Lewis the Mild, shew both the zeal of the government, and the languor

guor of the country, in erecting them. It seems to have been the duty of the proprietors of those lands in the vicinity of the rivers, to build and maintain them. The edicts, accordingly, are addressed to them; and the royal commissaries (*missi dominici*) are instructed to cause these edicts to be executed ¹².

Town or county houses, in the town most central, were also ordered to be built for public meetings and courts of law. These were wont to be holden in the royal palaces, and in the churches. The former were now found not always convenient; and the latter were believed to be profaned by that promiscuous concourse of people which assembled on these occasions ¹³.

The new churches in this period were generally, we have reason to believe, erected on the plan of the preceding ages. No description has occurred of the manner in which the mason-work was executed; though probably the intersecting pillars and arches of the doors and windows were omitted, leaving the open and heavy semicircular Norman arch, which, together with some other evidences of a degenerated taste both in plan and execution, distinguished this from the preceding and following ages in architecture.

¹² Capitul. lib. ii. 20. lib. iii. 12. lib. iv. 10, 11, 12. 43. 60. Addit. iv. 80.

¹³ Acta Concil. tom. vi. p. 489.

Flodoard has preserved to us an account of the manner in which Hincmar decorated the church of Rheims. "He covered it with lead, painted
" the curvatures of the roof or ceiling, beauti-
" fied it with glass windows, and paved it with
" marble. He adorned the large crucifix with
" gold and jewels; the smaller ones with gold
" and silver; the large cup and patina with
" gold and a precious stone. The books of
" the Virgin Mary and of St. Hieronyme he
" covered with ivory and gold; the capsule
" with gold and silver carved work. He fur-
" nished silver lamps and candlesticks, and va-
" rious other ornaments of tapestry "4, &c."

"4 Eccles. Hist. Flod. lib. iii. c. 5.

SECT. II.

Of the Arts, continued.

THE art of manufacturing cloth must always exist in some degree, and especially in the cold and variable climates. In France, the people enjoyed abundance of materials, both wool and lint. We do not find that any factory or factories, of much extent, were formed in any part of the country, for working the raw materials into cloth. Each family, it is probable, manufactured their own clothing. Some of them more expert than others, or who occupied themselves more in that kind of industry, sold what they had made more than they needed themselves, either to their immediate neighbours, or at the fairs now common over the kingdom. The manufacturing of cloth was one of the chief occupations of some, both of the males and females, in the monasteries.

The fine white linen worn by some of the priests and catechumens, and used in the churches and solemn services; the tapestry and other cloths with which Hincmar adorned the church of Rheims; and the linsley-woolsey, prohibited in the Capitularies; all prove the advanced state of

of the art of clothing in France at this period.

Dying.

The same knowledge of colours, which enabled them to adorn their books or manuscripts, would contribute not only to maintain, but to improve, the art of dying.

All the subordinate arts in wood and metals, the making of clothes, shoes, &c. which the Capitulary of Charlemagne. (*de Villis*) was designed to encourage and promote, would prevail, even though they did not in a high degree prosper in the subsequent reigns.

Carving.

The ornaments of the church required genius and expertness in working, carving, and ornamenting the altars and sacred vessels, which were made or adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones.

Armour.

The laws against the exportation of arms shew that the French artists not only fabricated armour sufficient for their own countrymen, but found a demand for these manufactures among other nations.

Clock-work.

Gerbert, who became pope by the name of Sylvester II., a native of France, is said to have made some astronomical machines, and particularly a clock; the first which moved with wheels made in France.

The

The glazing of the windows of the church of Rheims, by order of Hincmar, shows that the art of working in glass continued to be cultivated. Glass-painting.

The *Herbularius* of Walafrid is almost the only voucher which we have respecting the state of Medicine. Medicine. From that, however, it appears, that the virtues of plants were studied, and some of them distinctly known. Astrology, magic, and the relics of saints, however, were generally more resorted to in distress, than Medicine.

The art of the Lapidary, though in rather a rude state, was cultivated in this age. Mabillon ¹⁵ Seal-cutting. observes, that Lewis the Fat, a century after, was the first who wore a suspended or penile seal. Before his time, under both the Merovingian and Carolingian kings, they were made of lead, iron, and the other coarse metals. With these they impressed white wax, till the twelfth or thirteenth century, when they began to make the wax of a red, and then of a green, colour.

The art of Writing had attained the greatest Writing. perfection in this age. The beauty and elegance with which monastic persons of both sexes wrote the Books of Common Service and some of the Legends, have been repeatedly noticed. The art, however, was almost confined to monasteries, and altogether unknown to the common people. Some charters were written

¹⁵ De Re Diplom. lib. ii. c. 19.

in this age on the skins of fish ¹⁶. But the most usual substances for writing on were, still, the papyrus, the inner bark of trees, paper of cotton ¹⁷, parchment, and vellum. The paper made of linen rags, now so common, was not invented till the thirteenth or fourteenth century: the precise æra of its discovery, and use, is unknown ¹⁸.

They used the same kinds of pens and ink as in the preceding ages, already described.

¹⁶ Mabillon de Re Diplom. lib. i. c. 8.

¹⁷ Ibid. ¹⁸ Memoires de l'Acad. tom. vi. p. 605.

SECT. III.

Of the Fine Arts

SCULPTURE seems to have been much neglected in this age. The only instance which has occurred of its being probably studied, are two vases which Abbo of Fleury presented to pope Gregory the Fifth; but, as the Authors of the Literary History of France observe, they might have been fashioned in another country, or in a former age¹. Sculpture.

Painting was more studied, though neither attentively nor extensively cultivated. It was chiefly confined to the rude draughts with which they adorned the ceilings of churches, and to the more delicate paintings on the church-windows. Painting.

The small ornaments on their manuscripts led them to considerable practice and improvement in Miniature Painting.

The worship of Images in France had received a check in the council of Frankfort. They were respected, and to a certain degree venerated. Zeal to procure them was not so ardent as in Italy, and especially in the east: and we meet with no anecdotes of any Painter or Painting worth recording, in this rude and languid age.

¹ Etat de Lettres en France, 10 siecle, tom. vi. p 66.

Poetry.

We have already said and seen enough of the Poetry of this period to satisfy us, that it was destitute both of genius and taste for that species of composition. Every author, and almost every one capable of writing, attempted it. It was a special branch of the monastic education, and gave every scholar a fair opportunity of discovering poetic talents, had he possessed them.

Music.

If they succeeded no better in the art of Music, it was not for want of zeal and care: it also was taught assiduously in the schools, as an essential branch of science. But what was taught? Merely to chant the lessons of the church in a rude and simple strain.

Hucbald, monk of St. Amand, was considered as a great improver of the art, for having converted the letters of the alphabet into signs or names of the notes in the musical scale². It certainly does contribute much to the ease of the scholar, and furnishes a language by which instruction may be conveyed, or conversation held, on musical subjects, without the intervention of either sight or sound.

An organ-builder from Venice was employed by Lewis the Mild, to attempt that art in France; but it does not appear whether or not he was successful³.

² Hist. Liter. de la France, tom. vi. p. 7. & 220.

³ Eginhart. Annal. ad Ann. 826.

CHAP. VI.

The History of Commerce, from the Death of Charlemagne, A. D. 814, to the Accession of Hugh Capet, A. D. 987.

IN times like those of which we treat, there Merchants was neither much encouragement for Merchandise, nor were Merchants held in high estimation. The church, the monastery, and the army, were the great lines of pursuit to which the talents of youth were uniformly directed. Merchants were disrespected, not only on account of the supposed meanness of their occupation, but because they were understood, however erroneously, to be avaricious, and always disposed, when they had it in their power, to overreach and defraud.

In those times, it certainly was not difficult to impose on men's ignorance and credulity; and the numerous difficulties which dealers had sometimes to encounter, and the hazards to which they were exposed, might seem to justify them in purchasing under the real value, and selling again at the most extravagant prices.

In a Capitulary, the design of which is to recommend to Merchants the payment of tithes to the church, we find a very serious and grave admonition to them, plainly founded on the not highly respected.

general opinion that they were addicted to avarice and injustice. They are admonished, in order to inherit eternal life, to beware of immoderate attention to earthly lucre; and, according to the apostolic injunction, to see "that no one go beyond, and defraud, his brother in any matter".

Inland
trade.

The great articles of 'Inland Trade, besides cattle, clothing, domestic utensils, &c. were arms; not merely swords and spears, but cuirasses, and whole suits of armour for cavaliers, bucklers, helmets, and plumes of feathers. By these every man who was rich enough to purchase them, rendered himself, wedged in them, almost immoveable, nearly a harmless and passive object; but then he was invulnerable. There were also pieces of mail fitted on the horses' heads, which, with their furniture, bridles, saddles, &c. all formed important articles of Merchandise.

Danger being apprehended from the free sale and exportation of arms, it was enacted, that each superior should take care that arms were given to his own vassals only; that they should not be collected in any church, or secret and unsuspected place; and that they should not be given, nor sold, to traders¹.

For the same reasons, a prohibition was issued against the sale of horses and cattle to any stranger whatever, to restrain the activity of

¹ Capitul. lib. vi. 228.

² Lib. iii. 75. lib. vi. 212.

dealers;

dealers, and to prevent such an exportation as it was thought might impoverish the kingdom, and enrich, or strengthen and encourage, an enemy³.

Merchants were also obliged to pay certain taxes, or tolls, at bridges. These were intended, indeed, not to operate as restraints, so much as they were considered as a reasonable source of revenue, and a necessary indemnification for the expence of bridges, and the enjoyment of market-places⁴.

Considerable attention, on the other hand, began to be paid to their accommodation. Fairs ^{Fairs.} were instituted in every county, in many parishes, and in most of the considerable towns, to which they resorted, and where the people of all the neighbourhood assembled to trade with them. It was extremely convenient for the country, and yielded a considerable revenue to the government, or to the proprietor of the barony⁵.

These

³ Capitul. lib. iii. 624.

⁴ Lib. iii. 12.

⁵ I shall quote, as an example of the manner of the erection of these Fairs, a charter by Charles the Bald, granting the privilege of a weekly market, or fair, to the village of Cormeille in the district of Vilcassin, or Vexin.

“ In nomine sanctæ et individue Trinitatis, Karolus
“ gratiâ Dei rex. Cum itaque sacrosanctis locis bene-
“ ficia opportuna conferimus, fervorumque Dei utilita-
“ tibus inibi degentium Deoque militantium consulimus,
“ regium quidem morem agimus, profuturumque nobis
“ in æternum confidimus. Proinde omnium sanctæ Dei
“ ecclesiæ fidelium, præsentium ac futurorum, noverit
“ industria, quia Gerardus, beatissimi martyris Christi

These markets being often held on the day sacred to some Saint whom the people were accustomed to venerate, as much probably as their Saviour and Creator, it became natural to them to frequent them also on the Sabbath. Hence it was thought necessary to interpose against this practice the authority of law ⁶.

“ patronique nostri domini Dionysii cum socialitate
 “ generalitatis decanus pariter et sacerdos, nostram sup-
 “ petiit magnificentiam, quatenus hebdomadalem mer-
 “ ratum in pago, scilicet, Vilcassino, in villa quam Cor-
 “ mellias dicunt convenientem, ob amorem et reveren-
 “ tiam prælibati patroni nostri usibus ac stipendiis fra-
 “ trum, ea condicione, ac stabilitate concedere dignare-
 “ mur, qua villam eandem illis perpetim deputavimus.
 “ Ejus igitur piæ petitiones faventes cunctorum fratrum
 “ votis annuimus, atque ut petebamur fieri volumus.
 “ Unde hoc præcellentiæ nostræ præceptum fieri illique
 “ dari jussimus, per quod memoratum tertia ebdomade
 “ feriâ convenientem absque ullius comitis mercatum
 “ participatione, sive vicecomitis aut judicis introduc-
 “ tione, vel etiam cujuscunque rempublicam admi-
 “ nistrantis respectu, partibus sancti Dionysii ac fratrum
 “ stipendiis delegamus, perpetimque eis statuantes servi-
 “ endum sine cujuscpiam refragatione, subducto ablationis
 “ metu; sicut et res ipsius villæ mancipamus et nostris,
 “ futurisque sæculi temporibus inconvulsè eis famulan-
 “ dum mandamus. Ut vero hæc largitatis nostræ do-
 “ natio majore firmitatis stabiliatur vigore, manu pro-
 “ pria subter eam firmavimus, et annuli nostri impressione
 “ subter insigniri jussimus.

Signum Karoli gloriosissimi regis.

“ Mancio indignus Levita ad vicem Gauzleni recog-
 “ novi et subscripsi data iiii. Id. April. Indictione
 “ secunda, anno 29 regnante Karolo gloriosissimo
 “ rege. Actum in monasterio sancti Dionysii in
 “ Dei nomine feliciter. Amen.”

Mabillon de Re Diplom. lib. vi. c. 100. A. D. 869.

Capitul. lib. v. 83.

The number of Laws enacted, during this period, for the regulation of sales, of mercantile transactions, of debtors and creditors, shew a progress in trade. Every bargain, for example, was ordained to be held good and binding, in which an earnest, as part of the price, was given and received; unless the seller had intentionally concealed some essential vice in the animal, or fault in the subject whatever; provided that it was challenged on the day of sale, the next day, or even the third day after it. * The seller, however, might clear himself by his own oath, accompanied with other suitable jurors⁷.

The Flemings, who first established the cloth-manufacture in the Netherlands, found a ready market for their goods in France. They carried their cloth to the French fairs, till Baldwin, A. D. 960, established fairs in their own country free of tax, which greatly encouraged the trade and manufactures.

The French had little foreign or maritime trade. Their spirit was sunk by internal disorders. Their coasts were exposed on every side, and they were unable to protect the vessels which they did employ. They exported wine to England, and imported thence lead, iron, and tin⁸.

⁷ Capitul. lib. v. 210, 211.

⁸ Stephan. Descript. Civitatis Londonensis, p. 5, 6. Anderſon's Hiſt. of Commerce, vol. i. 9th and 10th centuries.

Weights
and
Measures.

Weights and Measures continued nearly the same as they are represented in the preceding Book*. They varied indeed in different parts of the kingdom ; which renders it so difficult to ascertain precisely the quantity intended by authors.

The
modius.

The modius, in dry measure particularly, was different in the different provinces. In the preceding Volume we have reckoned it, on the authority of Pliny and Ducange, somewhat more than a peck, or twenty libs. of Gallic wheat ; but there is reason to think, that the modius was in some places reckoned equal to a bushel.

In a charter of this period quoted by Mabilon, twenty modii of corn, and twenty of wine, were valued at seventy solidi¹⁰. Supposing them even silver solidi, the corn must have been ten shillings the modius.

By a canon of the council of Thoulouse, A. D. 846, every parish was bound to supply the bishop of the diocese with a bushel of wheat, a bushel of barley, a modius of wine, and a lamb; or these might be commuted for two solidi. The bushel in this case was much lower in value than the modius in the other ; unless we understand the solidus in the former to have been silver, and in the latter gold ; or that the modius and bushel were nearly the same.

* Book I. ch. vi.

¹⁰ De Re Diplomati, p. 543.

A modius

A modius of liquid measure was thirty-two pints English. A modius of wine A. D. 976 sold at seven denarii; though in very abundant years it fell so low as three and five denarii.

With respect to money, the solidus, rated ^{Money.} by the Salic law at forty, was reduced by a Capitulary to twelve, denarii¹¹.

Fleury, in his Ecclesiastical History¹², says, that the solidus of that time was worth forty of his time, or two livres current, 1s. 10d. sterling.

The shekel, which sometimes occurs in authors of this period, was forty-eight denarii, or 7s. sterling¹³.

The marc of silver was about fifty livres, or 2l. 15s. sterling.

The marc of gold was 740 livres, about 40l. sterling.

The abbey of St. Denis ransomed its abbot from the Normans, A. D. 858, for six hundred and fifty-eight pounds of gold, or a thousand and twenty-seven marcs two ounces; and three thousand two hundred and fifty pounds of silver,

¹¹ Capitul. lib. iii. 30. and lib. iv. 75. " Ut omnis fo-
lutio, atque compositio quæ in lege Salicâ continetur
inter Francos, per xii denariorum, solidus compona-
tur, excepto ubi contentio intra Saxones et Frisones
exorta fuerit. Ibi volumus ut xl denarii quantita-
tem solidus habet ad partem Salici Franci."

¹² Tom, x. p. 244.

¹³ Ducange, voc. Siclus.

or four thousand eight hundred and seventy-five marcs. This sum, valuing the marc as above, amounts to one million three thousand nine hundred and fifteen livres of modern money ²².

Charles the Bald engaged the Normans on the Somme to assist him against their countrymen on the Seine, A. D. 860, for three thousand pounds of silver. This, M. Bonamy values at four thousand five hundred marcs, or, in modern money, at two hundred and twenty-five thousand livres ²³.

By the edict of Charles the Bald at Poissy, A. D. 864, fifty pounds of silver were reckoned sufficient; on a new coinage, for restoring the deficiency of circulation over the kingdom.

Silver was the current money, unless it was otherwise expressed.

²² Mem. de l' Acad. tom. xvii. p. 281.

²³ Ibid. p. 284.

CHAP. VII.

The History of Language, Customs, and Manners,
from the Death of Charlemagne, A. D. 814, to
the Accession of Hugh Capet, A. D. 987.

SECT. I.

Of Language.

ON the subject of language, in the preceding Book of this History, it was shewn, that various means and powerful motives were employed to spread and establish the Latin tongue in Gaul; that it certainly did succeed and prevail in all the learned professions, the public offices, and among the people generally of superior rank; but that the Celtic, notwithstanding, continued to be the vulgar language of the people. The number of the Goths, Burgundians, and Franks, was comparatively so small, as to produce but little change on the dialect of the far greater number, who spoke the Celtic and Latin. They contributed, however, to predispose the natives, with whom they mingled, to change and corrupt their mother-tongue, and to accommodate their speech to strangers.

The

The language of Germany, called sometimes Tudesque and sometimes Teutonic, maintained its ground there without corruption; because the conquest of the Germans by the Romans was rather nominal: neither they, nor any other foreign nation, ever resided, nor attempted to settle, among them.

Charlemagne, who was born in Germany, and often resided in it, endeavoured to render his native tongue the language of his court*. But it was neglected after his death. His son, Lewis, was more attached to the Latin, which, as the language of religion, he considered as sacred. He resided also more in France, and intercourse with Germany became less frequent. The only contention therefore which remained, was betwixt the Celtic and Latin, which of these should obtain the dominion of Gaul. Both had already exhausted their native strength and beauty in the contest; they despaired each of absolutely conquering the other, and finally resolved to embrace as friends, and to unite and incorporate their power. The following causes, however, gave the Latin an ascendancy in this union over the Celtic.

The Celts, though conquered by other nations, the Goths, Burgundians, and Franks, were long before that under the dominion of the Romans, and were assimilated to them. Such of them as were the least accommodating, or

* Mem. de l' Acad. des Inscr. tom. xxiv. p. 662—667.

wanted opportunities of intercourse with, and conformity to, the Romans, sunk naturally into the lowest ranks, and their language sunk with them.

The Celtic was the more easily degraded, that, by the custom of the Druids, it never had formed the record of any literary work. There were no Celtic schools. In a word, the Celtic was not a written language.

Latin schools, on the other hand, after the conquest of Gaul by the Romans, became frequent over the country. Latin was the language of learning, of law, and of religion. A language so generally employed, the language of the court, the nobles, and the clergy, was generally imitated by the common people. They never acquired it purely and grammatically; they retained their vulgar idioms, phrases, and terminations: but, by constant imitation for many centuries, they acquired so much of the body of the words and language as to give the new tongue, generated by the union of the Celtic and Latin, a greater resemblance to the latter.

At the same time, the superior ranks, who had long maintained the Latin in considerable purity, yielded somewhat gradually of that purity to their frequent and necessary intercourse with the mass of the people. It was necessary to make themselves understood by them; and it is generally agreeable to human nature to accommodate

moderate to those with whom we are familiarly conversant.

From the sixth to the tenth century, excepting for an inconsiderable period during Charlemagne's reign, schools and education were much neglected. Many even of the higher ranks could neither read nor write: learning was confined almost to the monks and clergy. Latin of course degenerated, as grammar, taste, and elegance were disregarded. The body of the language remained, but it was deformed by Celtic idioms, elocution, and terminations. Thus, by mutual and gradual concessions, in the progress of centuries the two languages approached one another, and by their union generated the Romanesque, or Roman, a new tongue.

The great intercourse of so many people of different languages farther contributed to the corruption of both Celtic and Latin. The Celts, Goths, Burgundians, and Franks, were each unacquainted with the other's dialect; but all of them, from their intercourse with the Romans, knew a little broken Latin: it seemed, therefore, the readiest medium of communication. By it the conquerors mingled more easily with the conquered, the Germans with the Gauls, and the people of Bretagne with those of Languedoc and Provence.

The Celtic, which for centuries past had been the vulgar tongue, became gradually unknown,

excepting in some of the wildest districts of Brittany. The Latin retired into the service of the church, and the cells of the learned. In the ninth and tenth centuries, the Romans was the vulgar Gallican tongue. Homilies were translated into it, by order of the council of Mayence, A. D. 847, for the general instruction of the people. The treaty between Lewis and Charles and their nephews, A. D. 860, was proclaimed in it. In the council of Mouson on the Meuse, A. D. 995, Aimon, bishop of Verdun, addressed that assembly, not in Latin, for even that learned body would not have so understood him, but "*Gallicè concionatus est*," he addressed them in the vulgar Gallican tongue. Among other articles of accusation against Arnulph archbishop of Rheims, charged with sedition, were the various papers written by him in favour of Charles of Lorraine "*vulgari lingua*," in the vulgar tongue².

Men of learning and taste began to occupy themselves with the improvement, of this new language. Robert, the son of Hugh Capet, a little beyond this period, was on this account called "*sciens literarum*." Thierry, duke of Lorraine, selected Nanterre, abbot of St. Michael, as his ambassador to that prince, knowing him to be ingenious, and eloquent in the French tongue, "*linguæ Gallicæ peritiâ fecundissimum*."

² Duchesne, tom. iv. p. 110.

³ Chron. Sancti Michael. Analect. tom. ii. p. 391.

The following are examples of the manner in which the Latin was corrupted and formed into the Romans and French language. Hoc, *ouï*; locus, *lieu*; quare, *car*; ad-in-fic, *ainsi*; jam dies, *jadis*; desoras, *debors*; transpassare, *trépasser*; exsistere, *être*; primarius, *promier*; fratrès, *frères*; seculum, *siècle*; habere, *avoir*; ontus, *un*; de post, *derrière*; de sub, *dessous*; de retro, *derrière*; illud hiernum, *hiver*; illa ætas, *l'âge*; perustulare, *brûler*; fructus, *fruit*; Sequana, *Seine*; Lotharii regnum, *Le royaume de Lorraine*; amare, *aimer*; oculus, *œil*; aqua, *eau*; illa heder, *lierre*.

The oath of Lewis king of Germany, recorded by the historian Nithard, is the earliest example which we know of the Romans written language. He pronounced it in that tongue, that he might be understood by the French army, in whose presence it was administered to him, for the same reason that Charles the Bald pronounced the same OATH in the Tudesque LANGUAGE, in the presence of the German army.

In English. — "For the love of God, and of the Christian people, and for our common safety, and as far as God shall vouchsafe to me counsell and strength, I will save and aid this my brother Charles as becometh a brother, and as I would that he should do to me: and I will form no treaty with Lothaire, which may be detrimental to my brother Charles."

In Tudesque.—“ In Godeo minna induithes
 “ Christianes solches ind unfer bedhero gealt
 “ nisi son thesenioda ge frammor desso fram so
 “ mis got genuiz ei indhi madh furgibit so hald
 “ lites an minan brudher sofo manmit rahtu
 “ sinan bruder scal iuthi utha zermigföson ma-
 “ duo. Indimit luheren in nothe in vit hic nege
 “ gango zeminam vuillon imo ces cadhan vu-
 “ erhen.”

In Romans.—“ Pro Deo amur & pro Chris-
 “ tian poblo, & nostro commun salvamento,
 “ distdi in avant, in quant Deus savir, & podir
 “ me dunat, si salvareiq cist meon fradre Karlo,
 “ & inadjudha, & incadhuna cosa, si cum om
 “ per droit son fradre salvar dist, ins quid il mi
 “ altre si fazet. Et abludher nul plaid nunquam
 “ prindrai qui meon vol cist meo fradre Karle in
 “ damno sit.”

The OATH taken by the TWO ARMIES.

In English.—“ If Lewis shall keep the oath
 “ which he hath sworn to Charles, and if
 “ Charles my sovereign shall not keep it to
 “ him, then, as far as in my power, I will never
 “ more serve Charles against Lewis.”

In Tudesque.—“ Oba Karl theu eid theu er
 “ sine no brudher Ludhuvice gessuor gele
 “ istit, ind Ludhuvig min herro theu, er imo
 “ gessuor forbrith chit. obi hina nes iou ven-
 “ denne mag. nohih, noh thero no hein theni
 “ hea

“hes ironenden mag vuidhar Karle imo ce folus
“tine vuirdit.”

In Romans.—“Si Lodhuigs fagrement que
“son fradre Karlo jurat, conservat, & Karlus
“meos fendra de suo part non los tamit, si io
“returnar non lint pois, ne io ne veuls cui eo re-
“tumar intpois in nulla adjudha contra Lodhu-
“vig nun li juer.”

The next specimens which we find of this language, are the laws of William the Conqueror, and the poetry of the Provençals and Troubadours⁴; but they fall to be noticed rather in the Third Book of this History.

⁴ Mem. de l'Acad. tom. xvii. p. 179.

SECT. II.

Of Customs and Manners.

THE Climate of France had not yet assumed Climate. that mildness which is now the consequence of extensive and high cultivation. In the year 821, the winter was so severe, and so long continued, that not only the smaller brooks, but the largest rivers, the Rhine, the Danube, the Elbe, the Seine, and other rivers, were for thirty days, or more, so covered with ice, that waggons passed over them as on bridges¹.

Towards the end of the century, a few days before the summer solstice, by a sudden change of the atmosphere, a large mass of ice fell on the territory of Autun, fifteen feet in length, seven in breadth, and eleven in thickness².

Yet, about the same time, A. D. 870, the heat was so great about Mentz and Worms in the time of harvest, that many of the reapers sunk under it and died. At the same period, the coruscations of the aurora borealis were lively and beautifully spread, chiefly of a reddish colour, over the greater part of the sky. Two shocks of an earthquake were then also felt.

¹ Eyinhart. Annal. A. D. 821.² Ibid. A. D. 825.

Clothing,
or dress.

The clothing was somewhat suited to the climate. Though woollen was still most prevalent, linen was growing more frequent among the clergy, and the higher ranks.

No account of the female dress occurs during this period. It probably continued nearly the same simple linen cap on the head, and woollen gown, as was represented in former times.

The young men of rank wore a wide short coat with large sleeves, wide breeches, boots with spurs attached to them, and a spear-staff in their hand. This was the dress of Lewis the Mild, and his contemporaries.

Charles the Bald rendered himself ridiculous by his affectation. He imitated the dress and luxury of the Greeks. He wore a large dalmatique, or robe down to his feet, a silken bonnet, encircled with gold, in the form of a crown, and had a long sabre by his side. The historian of his time represents the very dogs as offended at his finery and extravagance.

These, on the whole, were not the times of luxury and affectation, but of war and distress. Utility and military conveniency were chiefly consulted: but gradually, as the alarms of war subsided in the next and following ages, rich and gaudy ornaments were assumed, and all the gallantry and pomp of chivalry arose.

The laws of the church and of the state were not extremely delicate respecting chastity and marriage.

marriage. There is too much reason for thinking that the clergy were studious to make a gain of godliness. The canon laws, as well as the Capitularies, do not appear founded on moral principles, nor to be steadily rigid at all times. They sometimes descend to things frivolous and disgusting, altogether unfit for the cognizance of public law.

In order to increase the influence and emoluments of the church, the forbidden degrees, within which marriage was not to be contracted without an ecclesiastical dispensation, were extended far beyond what nature, reason, or scripture requires. "No man," it was ordained, "may approach a blood relation within the seventh degree."

Yet the following law is as ridiculous as it is licentious: "Let no man take more than two wives, for the third is superfluous."

If a deaconess yielded to the weakness of her nature, she and her lover were both to be put to

* "Placet universaliter scienti coniugium. I Deinde constitutum, eo quod non sit causa luxurie, sed causa potius filiorum appetendorum, — proles, non voluptatis." Capitulum. lib. vi. 214.

† "Pro qua de hoc se abstinere laico pragnantium stupro non non menstruo tempore, & ut causa fornicationis non sit, uxor secundum domini sententiam dimittenda, sed potius sustinenda." Ibid. 215.

‡ Capitulum. lib. vi. 206.

§ "Ne quisquam amplius quam duas uxores accipiat, quia tertia superflua est." Ibid. lib. vii. 321.

death, and their goods were to be confiscated; those of the former to the church, and of the latter to the state⁹.

Baptism.

If any doubt arose whether a child was already baptised, it was without hesitation now to be baptised: and the priest was ordained to say, not "I re-baptise thee," but, "If you have not been already baptised, I baptise thee, in the name," &c.⁶

Education.

The education of children was entrusted to sponsors, who took vows on them to that effect at baptism. Parents seem to have taken little charge of them: they either almost totally neglected their education, or sent them to a monastery.

Meals.

If we may judge of the ordinary practice of the people from that of the monasteries, they ate twice only, or had two meals each day; in the morning, (the hour is not mentioned,) and at six o'clock in the evening.

In the morning they ate flesh-meat, except during Lent; when they got fish, cheese, pulse, &c. In the evening they had pottage.

They received three cups (calices, each two libras) of wine in the morning, and two in the evening.

⁹ Additio iii. 47.

⁶ Capitul. lib. vi. 181.

The pound of bread was 30 solidi, each solidus being 12 denarii⁷.

The provision for the *missi dominici* was, bread; butcher-meat of different kinds, chiefly veal, lamb, or pork; chickens, eggs, and wine⁸.

The Canons and Capitularies both take frequent notice of the intemperance, not only of the laity, but of the clergy, and even of the monks. The quantity of wine allowed the latter, was certainly too much, if the calix held two pounds of twelve ounces, or two English pints, unless the wine was very weak. Temper-
ance.

As serious consequences often arose from Slanders, flanders, and especially written ones, severe laws, even to banishment, were enacted against them⁹. Slanders.

Pagan Customs still in part prevailed, notwithstanding the many laws, civil and ecclesiastical, which for several centuries had been published, and sometimes executed, against them. On Sundays and Saints' days; the people were accustomed, in many places, to indulge in howlings, singing, dancing; and lewd gestures, in the church-yards and streets, as well as in private houses¹⁰. Pagan Customs.

⁷ Acta Concil. vol. iv. p. 1182, 1232. 1326—1351.

⁸ Capitul. lib. iv. 73.

⁹ Lib. vii. 142.

¹⁰ Lib. vi. 193.

Funerals.

Pagan customs, in like manner, continued in many places at funerals, as feasting, howling; for which the Capitularies enjoined rather Christian prayers and psalms. They prohibited, as unbecoming, the practice of laying one corpse in the grave upon another; and ordained the friends of the deceased, to fast devoutly thirty days¹¹.

¹¹ Capitul. lib. vi. 194, 195.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

ERRATA.

Page	Line	
30.	4.	<i>for works read work</i>
40. 57. } 58. 64. }		Notes. <i>for Faldensf. r. Fuldensf.</i>
47.	26.	<i>for Indesque r. Tudesque</i>
57.	24.	<i>for Marma r. Marfna</i>
59.	19.	<i>for restraining r. reclaiming</i>
65.	12.	Note. <i>for M. Balure r. M. Baluze</i>
	ult.	Note. <i>after Mem. de l'Acad. add tom. xx.</i>
76.	26.	<i>for Mount-Canis r. Mount-Cenis</i>
80.		Note. <i>for Gallos r. Gallor.</i>
94.	8. }	<i>for centrical r. central</i>
317.	9. }	
100.	11.	<i>for His r. Their</i>
132.	9.	<i>for or r. of</i>
160.	9.	<i>for await r. wait</i>
214.	14.	<i>for The spirit of this laws of laws r. This spirit entered</i>
237.	24.	<i>for fanaticisms r. fanaticism</i>
265.	15.	<i>for du f um r. duly summoned</i>
277.	9.	<i>for gaugin r. gauging.</i>
278.	13.	<i>for wonders r. wonder</i>
290.	27.	<i>for Cunifius r. Canifius</i>
300.	7.	<i>for Ce-by r. Corby</i>
337.	29.	<i>for fœcundiffimum r. facundiffimum</i>

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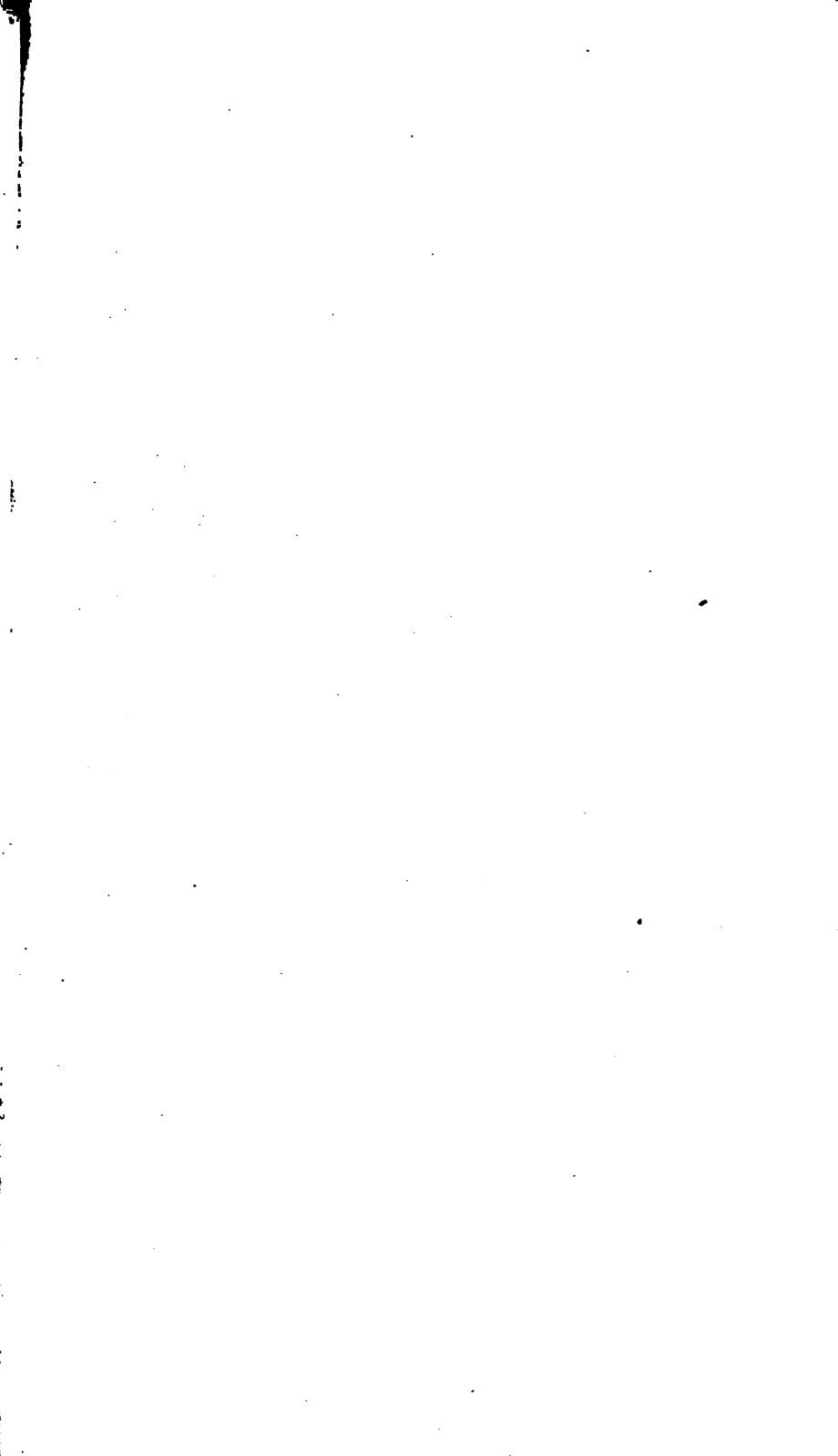
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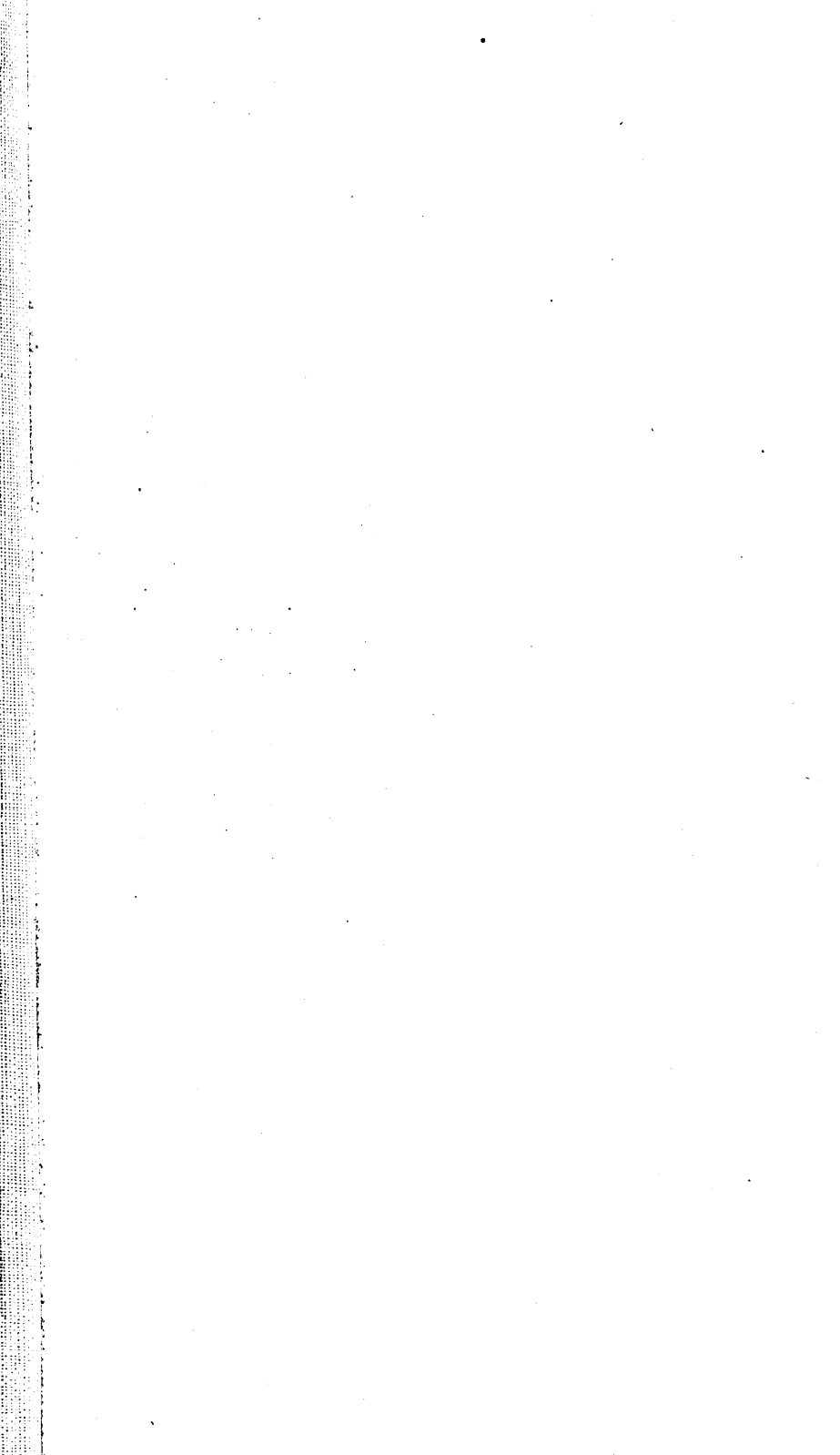
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